

JACOB MORE

1740 - 1793

by

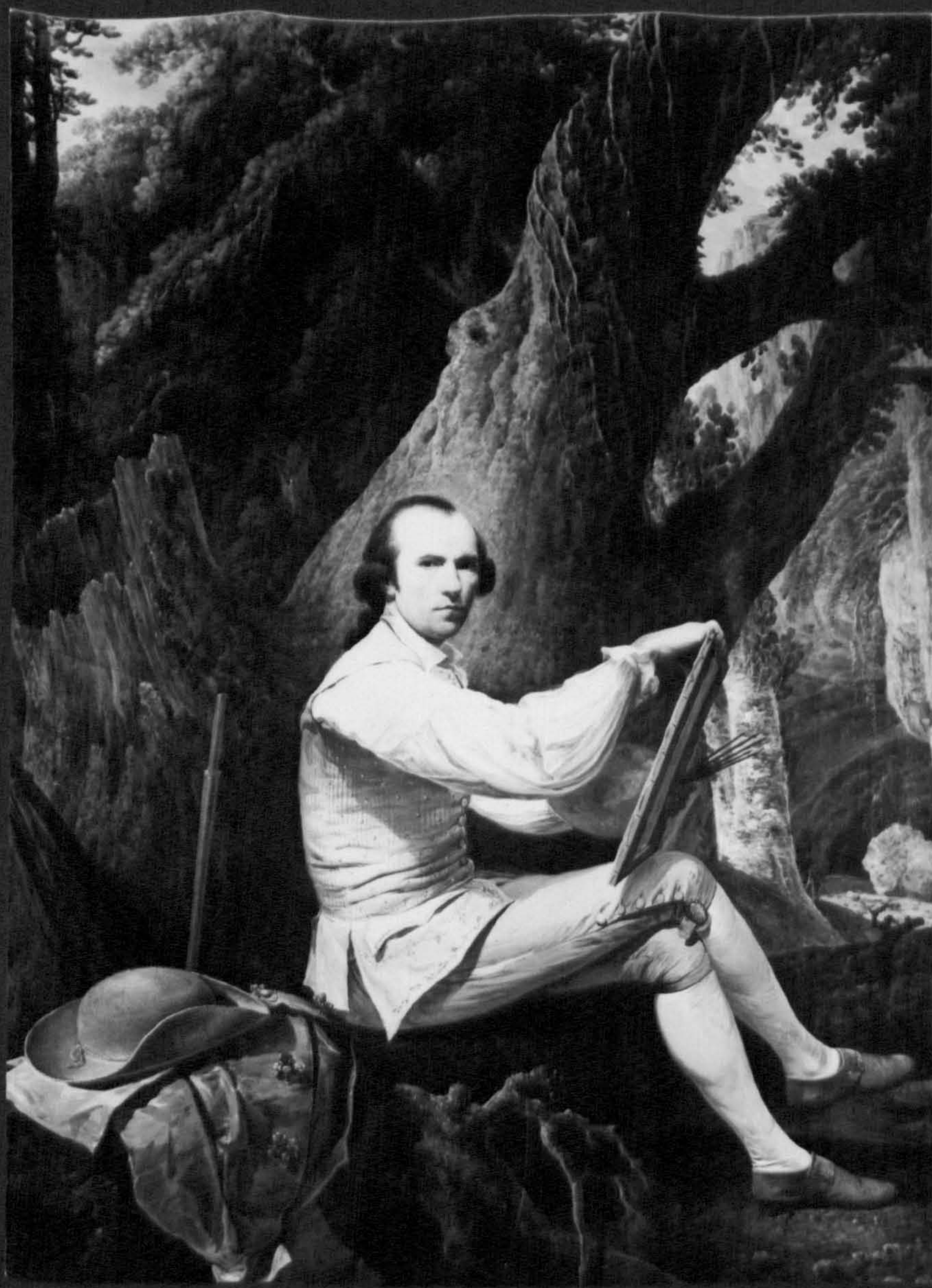
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1. (Frontispiece) Jacob More, Self-Portrait, 1783

ABSTRACT

Jacob More (1740-1793), known as 'More of Rome', worked in Edinburgh until 1771 and then (after a brief stay in London) in Italy. First apprenticed to a goldsmith, and then to a firm of housepainters, he gained public recognition with his series of Scottish landscapes exhibited in London in 1771. In Rome, he became the leading landscape painter of the large colony of British artists, producing striking compositions of brilliant tones and subtle light effects. The huge commercial success and high status he enjoyed led him, however, to waste much of his potential, and from the mid-1780s he produced increasingly large, repetitive and hastily-executed canvasses to satisfy an insatiable public demand for his paintings. He developed other professional interests in Rome, including the planning and laying out of a Picturesque English garden, and he acted as an agent and dealer to the British Grand Tourists. His career well illustrates the artistic tastes of the British public in the late eighteenth century, and offers an insight into the small but competitive world of British artists and their patrons abroad.

As the first major painter of his native landscape, More played an important part in the development of the Scottish school of painting; the more widely-known paintings of his Italian period have obscured this achievement, a fact acknowledged by his contemporaries as well as by art historians of recent years. The transient excesses of his later paintings led to a neglect of his

work in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, during which time much of his oeuvre, and most of the records of his life, were lost.

This thesis aims to provide a full account of More's life and work; to show his importance in the development of certain aspects of British landscape painting and in the development of a Scottish national school; to present new research on the artistic life of Edinburgh in the 1760s and Rome from the 1770s to the 1790s, indicating More's central place in the artistic circles of both cities; and to demonstrate, through More's career, some of the changing tastes and attitudes held towards landscape by both the British and Italians in the latter half of the eighteenth century.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is impossible to list by name all the people who have provided assistance in the course of this research, and a general acknowledgement to all those concerned in its progress must therefore suffice.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BA	Biblioteca Alessandrina
BL	British Library
BM	British Museum
DNB	Dictionary of National Biography
EPL	Edinburgh Public Library
EUL	Edinburgh University Library
GLC	Greater London Council
La	Laing Collection
NG Lon	National Gallery, London
NGS	National Gallery of Scotland
NLS	National Library of Scotland
RA	Royal Academy, London
RO	Record Office
RSA	Royal Scottish Academy
SNPG	Scottish National Portrait Gallery
SRO	Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh
V&A	Victoria & Albert Museum

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

a. Preface to the Thesis

The subject and aims of this thesis have been stated in the Abstract; an outline of the research undertaken, and the organisation and presentation of research material, is described in this section.

The primary written sources of research are manuscripts, mainly of the eighteenth century (a detailed list is provided in the Manuscripts section at the head of the Bibliography). Much of More's correspondence, collected by the Edinburgh antiquarian David Laing, is held in Edinburgh University Library. The chief item is More's Letterbook of 1786-7, which is the richest source of new research material on his commissions and patrons in Rome, and has not before been studied in any depth. All information in the Letterbook relevant to More's work is included in the text; a full transcription has not been presented; much is in note form with many repetitions, and not all of it can be deciphered. Also in the Laing collection are letters by More and several of his contemporaries, and Laing's 'Notes on Artists'. Manuscripts consulted in the National Library of Scotland include accounts of travellers to Italy during the period of More's residence, in particular the Journals of John Ramsay and Sir William Forbes, with whom he was associated in Rome; reference is also made to Allan Ramsay's research notes on Horace's villa. Further material in the National Library has been found in the correspondence of More's contemporary, the Edinburgh antiquarian George Paton, and in the

Sederunt Book of the Cape Club, of which More was Secretary. The principal sources in the Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh, are various items of correspondence among the Seafield Papers by eighteenth-century artists, the records of the Trustees' Academy at which More studied (quoted in previous publications), and the records of the Incorporation of Goldsmiths. Use has also been made of records in the National Gallery of Scotland, and the unpublished files on artists in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery.

The letters and journals of More's contemporaries in Britain and Rome held in London collections have also proved fruitful sources of new information on the artist's career. Manuscripts in the British Library dealing with More's professional life in Rome include the Berry Papers, Cumberland Papers, Flaxman Papers, and the Loch family correspondence (the first three collections in this group have been consulted by other writers on eighteenth-century artistic matters, but most of the material relating to More has not been published). In the Royal Academy Archives the proposal of More's membership to the Society of Artists has been found among the Society of Artists' papers, and references to More's social and professional life in Rome have been found in the correspondence of James Northcote; the Anderdon papers include several of More's letters, with notes on other lost letters recorded in grangerised sale catalogues. The Victoria and Albert Museum holds one item of More's correspondence, and the Archives of the Society of Jesus hold transcripts of the letters of Father Thorpe which mention More. The annotated catalogue of the sale of More's effects in 1796, kept in Christie's archive, has also been a source of new material. The Witt library has been

consulted for lost paintings by More and his colleagues, information on past sales, and illustrations of works held in private and foreign collections.

New information regarding More's chief patron, Lord Bristol, has been found in the family correspondence among the Wharmcliffe manuscripts, Sheffield Public library, the Northern Ireland Record Office, Belfast, and the National Library of Ireland, Dublin; the Bristol correspondence in the Suffolk County Record Office, Bury St. Edmunds, has also been consulted. More's previously unnoted correspondence with another patron, Lord Cowper, has been traced among the Panshanger Papers, Hertfordshire Record Office, and a letter from More's nephew regarding his uncle's effects has been traced to a private American collection.

The chief manuscript sources in Italy are in Roman collections. Material relating to More's hitherto unresearched work in the Villa Borghese is recorded in the Diary of his Italian colleague Vincenzo Pacetti held in the Biblioteca Alessandrina, in the manuscripts of the Borghese family in the Vatican Secret Archives, and in the Archive of the Borghese Gallery. More's addresses in Rome have been established from the annual parish census records in the Vicariato of Rome, St. John Lateran. His membership of the Accademia di San Luca, and the connections of other foreign artists with this body, have been found in the records of Academy meetings held in the Archive of the Accademia. His death is recorded in the Register of the Protestant Cemetery in Rome, where his tomb still stands. Correspondence with the Director of the Uffizi Gallery, Florence,

concerning his Self-Portrait of 1783, has been found in the Uffizi Archives; the Canova Archive at Bassano del Grappa holds one item of (previously noted) correspondence.

The principal libraries used in the course of this research are the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh University Library, the British Library, and the Libraries of the National Gallery of Scotland, the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, and the Victoria and Albert Museum. Many publications have been found only in Rome, principally in the Biblioteca Hertziana, the British School and the Italian National Library. The engravings discussed in relation to More's work in the Villa Borghese have been found in the Castello Sforzesco, Milan. Twelve contemporary critical reviews of More's paintings, from the years 1784 to 1788, including descriptions of several works which remain untraced, have been found in the two Roman art journals Memorie per le belle Arti and Giornale delle belle Arti, in the Biblioteca Hertziana, Rome; most of this material is unavailable in Britain, and as it is directly relevant to a discussion of the paintings produced at the height of More's career, full transcriptions with line references are given in Appendix C.

Much of the material is not in English; it has therefore been translated (from Italian, French and German) in the text, with the quotations reproduced in their original form in the footnotes. For ease and brevity of cross-reference, Appendix A lists all of More's paintings exhibited in London during his lifetime, his patrons and contemporary collectors, and the sales of his paintings up to 1900

which have so far been traced. More's extant and recorded correspondence is listed in Appendix B.

Taken together, these new sources enable a much more complete account of More's life to be assembled, and corrections to be made to the unsubstantiated and often incorrect assertions of previous brief accounts. All the previous published material is listed and discussed in section b. of this Chapter; particular acknowledgement should be made, however, to the information provided in Brinsley Ford's series of articles on the British in Rome in Apollo Magazine (1967), and to David Irwin's article on More published in the Burlington Magazine (1972).

All paintings and drawings by More of which records have been found are discussed in this thesis. A separate Catalogue Raisonné has not been presented as the similarity of certain titles (e.g. Italian Landscape) render the tracing of many provenances impossible; details of paintings are therefore included in the text and footnotes. All paintings have been studied at first hand where possible, and attributions checked; several works hitherto attributed to More have been rejected, while some previously attributed to other artists would now seem to be by his hand. Many of the provenances, and the titles and details of lost works, have been found through a systematic search of the extant sale and collection catalogues of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and later British sale catalogues concerning individuals likely to have collected or inherited

works by More.

Most of the extant paintings, and many of the drawings, have been reproduced as Plates. More's principal originality of style, particularly in his later career, lies in his use of colour; black and white photographs of the later works show a marked lack of tonal contrast, and colour Plates of certain works (in each case in addition to black and white reproductions) are therefore included.

Bibliography

The Bibliography is divided into A. Manuscripts and B. Printed Sources.

Section A. is subdivided into material held in

- i) Scotland
- ii) London
- iii) Britain, excluding i) and ii)
- iv) Other Foreign Collections

Section B. is subdivided into material published

- i) Before 1850
- ii) After 1850

These sections are further subdivided into

- a) Books, Pamphlets and Theses
- b) Periodicals, Journals and Newspapers
- c) Catalogues of Exhibitions and Collections

No attempt has been made to list every book or document consulted in the course of research; the Bibliography is therefore a selective one. All manuscripts and published sources cited in the text are included. Published works which are cited only in footnotes are included if they are necessary to a full introduction to the topic under discussion, or if they are little known publications discovered in the course of research. Facsimile editions are listed under the date of original publication.

Ib. Jacob More and his Critics, 1770-1980

Jacob More has suffered such extremes of reputation - ~~from that~~ of the greatest British landscapist to a second-rate decorative painter - that a survey of the information and opinions from both published and private sources put forward prior to this study is a necessary preliminary to a fresh appraisal of his achievement.

Art historical criticism has been particularly unkind to Jacob More. The colourful, fashionable aspects of his later Roman landscapes earned him an extraordinary popularity during his own lifetime, while the work of greater merit and originality, mainly executed early in his short career, aroused less general enthusiasm and until recently was little known. He wasted a high potential which only flowered fully in the unconsciously great works of the late 1760s and early 1770s, and succumbed to the temptations of financial success, status and fame. The lavish praise which his work received from certain contemporaries (particularly Reynolds and Goethe) led the less-discerning writers of his time into uncritical admiration for the increasingly artificial later works commissioned by wealthy patrons; critics of the next generation were only too well aware of his lapses into eyecatching, brilliantly-coloured technical virtuosity, accompanied by a growing neglect of form and content. Since the mid-nineteenth century many of his paintings have been lost or incorrectly attributed, and later critics have thus formed their judgement on the basis of the large, clearly signed works of the 1780s and early 1790s. The social and moral aspects of critical evaluation have also played an unusually large part in the reputation

of this artist. More's contemporaries outlived the popularity of the extreme mannerism of his later works; having been at the height of fashion in 1790, he was completely *démodé* twenty years later. Until the mid-nineteenth century judgement was prejudiced by nationalistic sentiments - Scottish patriotism versus an English denigration of Scottish success. Also, artistic evaluation became confused with moral judgements; More was censured for his private life and assumed to have a snobbish and selfish character (undeservedly, as this study will demonstrate).

Most of the contemporary critical writing on More is to be found in the diaries and memoirs of travellers to Italy, and in the letters of long-term residents; there are also a few published references. Though there is little indication of More's standing in Edinburgh before he left for London in 1771, opinion of his abilities was demonstrably high, for he was commissioned to execute a set of theatre scenes for an important operatic production in 1769, and was enabled by patrons to travel to London and then to Italy. The earliest recorded opinion of his work is that of Sir Joshua Reynolds, related and endorsed by Irvine in 1781 (and much quoted by later writers):

'My Countryman More comes the nearest to Claude of any painter I know.- Sir Joshua bought two paintings by him lately at an Auction & gave more than the original price. He admires them very much I hear & says More is the best painter of *àir* since Claude'. 1

How much influence Reynolds's opinion had on More's steady rise to fame is difficult to ascertain. Certainly other artists were equally enthusiastic about More's paintings on their own account: Canova

visited his studio two years later, noting in his diary a Vesuvius in Eruption and a Deluge which were 'both divine', and a Waterfall, View of Tivoli and Cicero's Villa 'also these of astonishing beauty'.² Young Henry Herbert recorded in 1779 that his guide Hippisley 'says he is one of the best landscape Painters that exist',³ and in 1785 James Byres, the British banker and dealer, referred to him in a letter to the Duke of Rutland as 'Mr More, who is now our first landscape painter'.⁴ The Italian sculptor Vincenzo Pacetti noted in his Diary in 1787 that he had visited More's studio and seen 'beautiful paintings',⁵ and Goethe, who also visited the studio later the same year with Angelica Kauffmann, was very impressed with the paintings he saw, describing one, a Deluge, in detail.⁶ Goethe mentioned More many years later in his book Winckelmann und sein Jahrhundert, in which he praised More's ingenuity of composition and poetic feeling.⁷

A study of the opinions of non-artist travellers to Rome well demonstrates the strength of his reputation. Three such accounts were made in 1792, the year before his death. Count Stolberg described More as 'One of the good landscape painters of our time ... who handles his pencil like a poet';⁸ two Scottish travellers, Lord Gardenstone and Sir William Forbes, noted respectively that 'I have seen no rival to Mr. More as a landscape painter',⁹ and 'I do not know that he is excelled by any Artist of the present day'.¹⁰

These were all private judgements, not intended (at least initially) for publication. The first published criticisms and reviews appeared in two Roman art journals, Memorie per le belle Arti

and Giornale delle belle Arti, in the 1780s. The reviews, hitherto little noted, were of specific paintings, each described in detail. All were highly favourable to More (though it must be added that most of the reviews of other artists' work were also intended as public recommendations, rather than impartial critical assessments of their achievements). More was compared favourably with Old Master landscapists, particularly Claude Lorraine and Gaspard Dughet.¹¹

The few contemporary published notices in Britain were produced late in More's career; they ignored his earlier Scottish work, commenting solely on his current style. A critic of the Royal Academy Exhibition of 1786 wrote:

'This Gentleman, who now resides at Rome, is in possession of a first rate reputation for landscape; so much so indeed as to have been placed by people of some judgment, on a level with Claude. We must however declare against every idea of equality in this matter ... Mr. More is nevertheless a fine artist, and we hope will not always make Rome his retreat'.¹²

In 1793, the year of his death, a less discerning critic praised him in the Bee thus:

'without doubt the first landscape painter in the world; and at this moment, even while he continues to produce new paintings daily, his pictures bring a higher price than those of Claude de Lorraine, who has held the first rank in that line for a century past'.¹³

A brief note on More included in 'An Account of Gavin Hamilton' in the Scots Magazine of the same year refers to him as 'Jacob More, who excels as much in landscape as Hamilton in historical painting',¹⁴

implying that More was the most talented landscape painter in Rome at the time. It was no longer expected that he would return to Britain; in his book on Scottish Scenery James Cririe wrote that 'We can hardly flatter ourselves with the hope of such patronage and encouragement as would induce More to leave Rome and return to Scotland'.¹⁵ The fact that More died suddenly in a foreign country lent some romance to his life - John Beugo, in his Esk Water. A Poem of 1797 lamented that the beautiful river scenes were now without their most appropriate artist - 'and MORE not grace the song';¹⁶ he too compared More with the Old Masters, 'Alone disputed by delightful CLAUD'.¹⁷ John Stoddart, in his Remarks on Local Scenery and Manners in Scotland of 1801, concurred with Beugo: he had seen the Scottish landscapes rather than the later paintings, and remarked of one of the former:

'No painter of modern days, except the immortal Wilson, has so faithfully poutrayed [sic] Nature herself in her happy moments: in this piece, we know not which to admire most ...'¹⁸

The last published criticism from a contemporary of More who had known him personally was that of George Walker, who included three works by More in his Sale Catalogue published in 1807. In it he gave a full description of the paintings (Falls of Clyde, Sunset and a Land Storm) two of which had belonged to Reynolds; he noted Reynolds's admiration for More, and gave a warm testimony of his abilities.¹⁹ He was the first critic to pay tribute to More as an innovator of style and as the first landscape painter of Scotland; The Falls of Clyde 'may be considered as a national work',²⁰ and 'in SCOTLAND, we

look around us in vain for any thing in the line of modern Art with which it [the Land Storm] may be compared'.²¹ Several of More's Scottish landscapes which hung at this time in Newhall House were described in the 1808 edition of Allan Ramsay's Gentle Shepherd. Here More is referred to as 'the Scots Claude',²² a counterpart to Richard Wilson, who is described as 'the English Claude'.²³

With More's sudden death and the rapid change in taste in landscape painting, much of his work was lost in the early nineteenth century, and later critics wrote with reference to the very small selection of his works they had seen. 'Jacob More, a native of North Britain, the celebrated landscape painter'²⁴ is typical of the entries in critical and historical works from 1810 onwards. By this time the defects of his now unfashionable later works were embarrassingly obvious: Edward Edwards admitted in 1808 that More's paintings were 'very much over-rated, when rashly compared to the productions of Claude Lorraine',²⁵ an opinion repeated two years later in Fuseli's edition of Pilkington's Dictionary of Painters.²⁶

More's clear, hard-edged decorative landscapes of his later Italian years, with their artificially bright lighting and orange-pink misty glow, were the antithesis of the natural style of artists such as John Constable, who was particularly scathing in his condemnation of More's abilities. He classed More with the Mannerists who had 'substituted falsehood for truth, and formed a style mean and mechanical'; principal among them were 'Vernet, Hakert, Jacob Moor, and the English Wooton'.²⁷ Just as Reynolds's opinions probably had an influence on the connoisseurs of the late eighteenth century, so

Constable's remarks were probably instrumental in the decline of More's reputation in the early nineteenth century. More's reputation was maintained in less competitive circles: he was listed in books on Scotland and on British art, but the compilers of such works often had little acquaintance with his work - Sarsfield Taylor could only write that 'Jacob More holds a high rank amongst the landscape painters of Scotland'.²⁸ Only Scottish writers knew much of him now: in the Catalogue of Kinfauns Castle, written in 1828, the Land Storm praised by George Walker in 1807 was once again acknowledged to be 'a chef d'oeuvre of the masters', which 'may be considered as a truly honourable specimen of the British School of Painting'.²⁹ John Burnet, in his autobiographical novel Progress of a Painter in the Nineteenth Century of 1854, also recorded Sir David Wilkie's admiration for More; in one episode, the Scottish painter Knox toasted More's name along with Gainsborough and Wilson, and Wilkie commented

'a good addition. His works are little known in England, but he certainly may be set down as one of the Scottish worthies. He and our friend's father Alexander Nasmyth, must be considered the founders of landscape-painting in Scotland.' 30

Allan Cunningham, in his 1857 edition of Pilkington's General Dictionary of Painters, put forward the first post-Constable apologia, and viewed the later works in a less biased perspective than hitherto:

'A reasonable admirer of his works must allow that his scenery is beautiful, and his figures well selected; but there were many English noblemen in Italy, by whom More was engaged, that were so indiscreet as to rank the talents of the latter artist as equal to those of Claude'. 31

The equally brief though less informative remarks of Seguiet and Redgrave in the 1870s are similar in tone: Seguiet wrote that

'Some of his works class better with Glover and Arnald's than with pictures of the Wilson school. He selected grand wild scenery, yet he did not represent the same with much force ... The autumnal tints of his foliage are very pretty, but his pinky distances and chromy hillocks are less agreeable'. 32

Redgrave was of the same opinion - 'though of much repute in his day, [More] was weak and poor in manner and colour'.³³ The emphasis on colour in these two last criticisms seems to be echoing the sentiments of Constable, and certainly ignores the earlier works of More's career, which were painted in predominantly blue-green hues. By the late nineteenth century, even writers on Scottish art neglected the early works, failing to mention More's originality of Scottish subject matter as well; Sir Walter Armstrong, in his Scottish Painters of 1888, did not mention More at all.³⁴ An exception was Robert Brydall who, in his Art in Scotland, published the following year, set out a biographical account made from a survey of the inaccurate nineteenth century critical notices, listing the landscapes exhibited in London and a few of More's patrons. He included errors of biography repeated by later writers, and omitted to mention the Scottish landscapes, but he gave due historical prominence to an artist of Scottish nationality who had achieved evident success at an international level.³⁵ More's real achievement was still unrecognised: W.D.McKay, in the Scottish School of Painting of 1906, dismissed his paintings as 'little removed from the decorative work which was common at the time'.³⁶

Sir James L. Caw, writing on Scottish art two years later, was the first modern critic to question with any seriousness the reputation the artist had long held. Though making the now standard errors of biography, he admitted that he was writing from a knowledge of only a small part of More's oeuvre. He discussed the early Land Storm and a 1780 Vesuvius and felt that if More had continued to produce paintings of the quality of the former 'he would have been a force to reckon with'.³⁷ He examined More's colouring in some detail and also considered his drawings:

'... most of his pictures are rather thin and flat in effect, but he painted with a fluent touch and distinct feeling for the material charms of his medium, generalised with some skill, and designed in the manner of Claude - best seen, perhaps, in his drawings in pen and wash ... His feeling for nature ... was more fully developed than any that had previously found expression in Scottish painting'. 38

Scottish critics, following his example, began to examine the paintings first-hand before making judgements, but writers on British painting in general continued to dismiss More with a very brief mention, evaluating him on the basis of a small selection of paintings. Christopher Hussey referred to him in 1927 as 'a thin and feeble copyist of Claude and Vernet',³⁹ and the following year William T. Whitley wrote that 'More's reputation faded long ago and his work is unknown to many modern artists'.⁴⁰ John Tonge, writing on Scottish art in 1938, criticised Goethe for 'praising that painter's unexciting and conventional Deluge and Morning';⁴¹ Colonel M.H. Grant, in his Old English Landscape Painters of 1958, dealt with More particularly harshly, stating that he painted 'grand subjects

without the grand manner'.⁴² Even Ian Finlay, in his Arts in Scotland of 1948, did not take More's work very seriously, saying that 'in his earlier days he showed a certain feeling for landscape, but he was not a profound painter, and he too settled down happily among the ruins and villas of Rome. On the evidence of his art he became a complete foreigner'.⁴³

Stanley Cursiter, in his two paragraphs on More in his Scottish Art of 1949, was the first critic to appreciate that More produced paintings of great extremes of quality and originality, thus deserving both praise and censure from art critics; the large pictures could be 'luridly dramatic' but in 'smaller ones such as the Falls of Clyde ... he shows real accomplishment, and the vogue which he enjoyed is easily understandable'.⁴⁴ (the vogue was unfortunately due more to the dramatic works). A year later James Brodie, in an article on British Romantic painters, repeated this analysis, stating that More's early work was 'happily free from much of the classical nonsense and acrid colour which mars later works'.⁴⁵ Like Caw, he also appreciated the separate merits of the drawings. Alastair Smart, writing on Allan Ramsay in 1952, shared this opinion of More: 'His landscapes, especially those done before he left Scotland, reveal great powers of observation: but Rome spoiled him, and the classical paraphernalia in his later pictures tend to obscure his individuality'.⁴⁶ Iolo Williams, discussing early British watercolourists in a publication of the same year, noted that 'More's watercolours, in spite of the clumsy figures and heavy treatment of foliage, have a rather attractive, melancholy air of their own'.⁴⁷

In recent years More's paintings have appeared in the salerooms in increasing numbers, though often incorrectly attributed (many of the paintings have been lost, and several remain untraced at the completion of this study; some are known to have been destroyed). One painting, a Falls of Tivoli (Plates 61, 62 and 63), unsigned but clearly by More's hand, came up for sale in 1962. It is a mature work, suffused with the pastel pinky-blue light so often denigrated by former critics. Adrian Bury wrote in the Connoisseur:

'I have not seen enough of More's work to offer a final opinion, but I was impressed ... It has dignity of design ... Since More could do as well as this picture indicates ... he was by no means the indifferent artist we have been led to believe, and it would be interesting to discover other works by him'. 48

More's achievements in a historical context were also becoming recognised: Luke Heilmann, writing on British Landscape Painting of the Eighteenth Century appreciated that More 'rose far above' his Edinburgh teachers with the Falls of Clyde, before his lapse into 'empty grandeur'.⁴⁹ A fuller critical and biographical study was made by David Irwin, in his article 'Jacob More, Neo-Classical Landscape Painter' (1972),⁵⁰ and his section on More in Scottish Painters at Home and Abroad 1700-1900⁵¹ (1975). Irwin takes most of his material from previously published accounts, with some additional material from a few newly-discovered sources, and he establishes More's originality in the Scottish landscapes. The article represents the fullest account of More's achievement prior to this study, though most of More's correspondence, some of the Scottish material, and most of the contemporary Italian sources are still not mentioned, and there are

inaccuracies in his account of More's work and that of related individuals.

It is now accepted that More's achievement lies in his innovation and originality as the first serious painter of the Scottish landscape. More is once again enjoying great popularity, along with many of his neglected contemporaries; several major galleries have recently acquired paintings, and both his oils and watercolours are much sought after. In a recent history of the Scottish nation More was described as an artist who 'painted beguiling landscapes',⁵² and in The Discovery of Scotland exhibition (Edinburgh, 1978) he was given due prominence as the first major Scottish landscape painter.⁵³ It is therefore fitting that a full account of his life, work and achievement should now be made.

CHAPTER TWO

MORE'S LIFE AND WORK IN SCOTLAND UNTIL c.1771

a. Beginnings

Jacob More was born in Edinburgh; the year of his birth has been reported as 1740, 1743 and 1745, though 1740 is most likely to be correct, as the inscription on the engraving of his Self-Portrait of 1783 reads 'nato in Edimburgo Capitale della Scozia nel 1740' (Plate A).¹ The only record of his parentage is to be found in the Register of Edinburgh Apprentices, where he is entered as 'More Jacob, s. of late William, merchant'.² There are no records of his schooling, and reports of his intellectual precocity (writing three essays on artistic subjects in the 1750s) are unfounded.³

He was bound apprentice to a goldsmith in 1757 (it is not known whether he completed his training),⁴ but his name is not mentioned in official records until 1764, when he entered a second apprenticeship with 'Robert Norrie, painter, for 6 years'.⁵ To commit himself to such a period of training at the late age of twenty-four, for a full six years, was a highly unusual step to take. It would suggest, therefore, that More had already produced some promising work by this time and had decided to devote his career to painting, but that he could not yet support himself financially. If he completed his first indenture he would already have enjoyed a high status among Edinburgh craftsmen; thus it may also indicate that he had ambitions above the trade of house-painting.⁶

What prompted More to change his career at this stage is not clear, but there is some evidence that a later patron, Chief Baron Montgomery, may have been an influence. According to Henry Mackenzie

'The first encouragement which he received was from Sir James Montgomery (afterwards Chief Baron) from the circumstances of his being the nephew of the housekeeper, whom he used to visit on some spare days at the Whim, the seat of Sir James in Peebleshire'. 7

Sir James Montgomery (1721-1803) was an influential local philanthropist, who rose from the position of Sheriff of the County of Tweeddale to become the first Scotsman to hold the office of Lord Chief Baron to the Court of Exchequer in Scotland. Though a man with high social connections, he was an approachable individual, who looked 'to the useful and substantial, in his acquirements, rather than to the brilliant and splendid', participating in many local concerns 'of extensive public utility', altering land laws, experimenting in farming methods, and acting on the Board of Trustees for Improving Fisheries and Manufactures in Scotland - a body responsible, among other things, for the setting up of the Trustees' Academy of Art in Edinburgh in 1760, which More attended. Known as 'The Father of the County', he was regarded by Cockburn as a benevolent patron and an 'excellent and venerable man'.⁹

More's first master in his second apprenticeship was Robert Norie (d.1766), the head of a highly successful family firm of painter-decorators, and a pioneer in the painting of Scottish, as opposed to

idealised, landscapes.¹⁰ Though based firmly in Edinburgh, his outlook was far from provincial (in the 1730s his father James Norie had sent him and a brother to London, to complete their training under the English landscape painter, George Lambert).¹¹ Typical of the father's work is the idealised Italianate Classical Landscape with Architecture of 1736 (National Gallery of Scotland).¹² The son's new interest in Scottish landscape is demonstrated in the two large panels painted in 1741 of (unspecified) Scottish mountains, castles and waterfalls (coll. His Grace the Duke of Hamilton, Plate B).¹³

More's second master was Alexander Runciman (1736-1785), an apprentice and then junior partner of Robert Norie, who took over as senior partner of the firm and became More's master on Norie's death in 1766.¹⁴ Though considerably less of an influence on More's development as a landscape painter, and with almost no apparent influence on More's style, he was probably extremely important in developing More's ambitions to raise himself above the artistic status of a house painter. He was More's master for only a brief period - in 1767 he left Edinburgh to study in Italy for five years; it was only while he was abroad that he himself decided to become a history painter, for in the announcement of his departure in the Edinburgh Evening Courant he stated that he was leaving to study 'ORNAMENT PAINTING'.¹⁵ Prior to his departure he and his brother John had, however, already demonstrated an interest in local antiquarian and topographical subjects.

On Runciman's departure for Rome, More transferred to a third master, John Bonnar; Bonnar did not take over the firm (it was left in

the hands of Dugald MacLaurin),¹⁶ but he had been trained by the Nories, and had worked with Runciman for several years.¹⁷ Little is known of Bonnar, but he was certainly a man of some status and civic responsibility, for he is listed in Williamson's Directory of 1773 as a Constable, and either he or another member of his family is also listed as a magistrate the same year.¹⁸

Three masters during one apprenticeship might imply that the apprentice suffered from conflicting advice and methods, but since all the masters had received their training in the same small firm, it is quite likely that More received a training with a very consistent approach in both ideas and methods, and profited rather than suffered from any differing attitudes held by his teachers. Also, though technically an apprentice, More seems to have been regarded as a junior partner of the firm; George Walker stated that he passed the last two years of his apprenticeship

'in company with John Bonnar his good friend James Montgomery Esqr. then Lord Advocate for Scotland now Lord Chief Baron advancing money for his Stock in Trade'. 19

More also studied at the Trustees Academy in Edinburgh. The dates of his attendance are not recorded, but in the Minute Books of 1786, when 'Several artists of very considerable merit [who] received the Rudiments of their education at the Academy' were named as evidence of the Academy's value to the city, 'Jacomy Moir Landscape Painter now at Rome' was included in the list.²⁰ The Trustees' Academy had been founded in 1760 primarily for the study of industrial design, but the masters were always Fine artists.²¹ The first, William

Delacour (d.1768), taught there from 1760 to 1767. More's early landscape sketches show a very strong influence of Delacour's teaching, and since Delacour was also a scenepainter, More probably learnt this type of work from him as well.²² More may have attended the Academy before he began his apprenticeship: printers, gilders, goldsmiths and carvers were typical professions of the students. He is said to have shown great promise there - Farington states that he 'got a prize at Edinburgh for painting'.²³

Though it was a particularly eclectic training for a provincial artist, More's maturity of years would no doubt have enabled him to select his influences rather than accepting uncritically the styles and attitudes of his teachers. Alexander Runciman, in leaving for Italy and turning to history painting, probably had the greatest influence on his ambitions as an artist, while Delacour had the strongest influence on his style and subject-matter, as the following sections of this Chapter will demonstrate.

b. More's Early Drawings

'Shall painting warm me, as I move along,
O Esk! Thy banks, and MORE not grace the song!
He, who, in early days, would often rove,
Where rise thy banks, and where extends thy grove.
The steepy banks that overhang thy wave
First rais'd the transport that his pencil gave:'

(From Esk Water. A Poem, by John Beugo, 1797)¹

It is difficult to put a precise date to any of Jacob More's early drawings, though he must have been well-practised in landscape painting before he executed the original and sophisticated Falls of Clyde series about 1770, and at least competent in the depiction of landscape before his debut as a scenepainter in 1769. Since he started his apprenticeship as a painter in 1764 at the late age of twenty-four, it is conceivable that some of the extant drawings may have been done even before this date; but the fact that many of them are signed (and therefore probably intended to be kept or shown) would suggest that most of them, at least, were executed after he had become a serious student, and that they thus date from the mid-1760s onwards.

There are several accounts of More's love of roaming the countryside to make sketches, a habit he kept all his life; he certainly travelled extensively around the Scottish lowlands, making sketches of Arthur's Seat, Roslin and Craigmillar in the Edinburgh area, and further afield, Dunbar, the Falls of Clyde near Lanark, Neidpath, Inveresk and Loch Lomond (all the extant Scottish sketches are now in the National Gallery of Scotland, most of them from the Laing Bequest). One of the most striking features of these early works

is the almost exclusive concentration on landscape at such an early stage in More's career. Not only does he show remarkably little interest in the depiction of architecture or human figures, he is also notably poor at representing them, in contrast to his free, relaxed and confident handling of mountains, trees and water. His efforts at architecture, at all stages of his career, are laboured and difficult.

As none of the drawings is dated, they have been grouped for convenience by subject matter and style. The first group consists of freely-handled outdoor sketches which were probably done in the open, executed in pencil and a limited range of watercolour washes (light greens, browns, and yellows). All were formerly part of the collection of the nineteenth-century Edinburgh antiquarian David Laing, and several may have been part of a sketchbook More is known to have kept.² Arthur's Seat, the volcanic hill then on the outskirts of Edinburgh, now surrounded by the city, is represented in three versions: A Rocky Landscape (green and brown wash over pencil, Plate C), 24.9 x 37.4cm, signed 'Jacob More f.', NGS D286; St. Anthony's Chapel, Edinburgh (slight ochre and brown wash over pencil, 23.5 x 37.2cm, signed 'Jacob More f.', NGS 290A, Plate D),³ and the larger and more finished Salisbury Crags and St. Anthony's Chapel, Edinburgh (brown and grey wash over pencil, 32.8 x 51.3cm, NGS D285, Plate 2). The fact that all three are signed would indicate that the artist considered them to be finished sketches, or preparatory studies for paintings which have since been lost. The remarkable thing about these three sketches is that even in a very economical 'note' form of representation, More has managed to idealise and romanticise the

landscape with skilful use of light and shade patterning, emphasising the most salient and distinctive elements of the scene with a corresponding lack of interest in detail. His pencil and brush movements are hesitant, light and rapid, with the colour merely dabbed in, as if he is afraid to push his personality on to the subject. His main preoccupation, particularly in the two fuller sketches, Rocky Landscape and Salisbury Crags, is the play of full, golden light, contrasting with deep foreground shadows; in Salisbury Crags, two human figures are lightly washed in, as immovable in their statuesque poses as the rocks on which they sit; the glow of the pale colours and the relaxed pose of the figures give a dreamy, insubstantial air to the work, the atmosphere being reminiscent of the Mediterranean rather than a northern country. His colouring may have been influenced, perhaps, by the classical landscapes of James Norie (see p.22), and was developed in the oils of his later Italian scenes. There is a complete absence of movement in all three drawings (except that of light) and although the topography of the landscape is accurate, the adjoining city of Edinburgh is omitted except for a few barely noticeable buildings very hesitantly included at the extreme left of St. Anthony's Chapel. Landscape with a Bridge (24.2 x 36.9cm, also signed 'Jacob More f.', NGS D287 ^{Plate E}), another on-the-spot recording of a probably local scene (as yet unidentified), is executed in the same style, in green and brown wash over pencil. This drawing is extremely faint and freely handled, and possibly unfinished. Inveresk (24.2 x 34.2cm, NGS D5016 ^{Plate F}) though a more overtly 'topographical' sketch, is similar in approach, with lightly-handled pencil and brown wash, and heavy foreground shadow. Little interest has been shown in the depiction of the town, though the

artist has taken some care with the roofs, blocking them in with washes to form an interesting pattern with little regard for topographical accuracy. The final drawing in this group is a very slight sketch, on the reverse of Rocky Landscape, of Cliffs and Sea (pencil and brown wash, 24.9 x 37.4cm, NGS D286), of an unknown location (Plate 6).

The handling of these sketches is remarkably free and relaxed, and has little in common with the tightly handled oil paintings of the Norries or the energetic and strongly toned sketches of Alexander Runciman. The clearest influence on More's drawing style is that of William Delacour (d.1768), who had been appointed drawing master of the Trustees Academy, where More studied, in 1760.⁴ An example of Delacour's sketching style is the Manor House with Stables and Outhouses (watercolour over pencil, 19.9 x 25.6cm, signed and dated 1748, and inscribed 'Black (?)mary hole', NGS D98, Plate 3). It shows a hasty, light yet confident touch, very much in the spirit of More's work.

This 'note' style is one which More kept to all his life; though progressively more detailed, his later Italian sketches have the same hesitant yet free brush strokes, limpid colouring, sunny atmosphere, and idealised and romanticised subject matter. The quick, light touch suggests that the works were done almost impatiently; certainly More executed much of his later work at great speed, for he himself referred to his drawings made on Mount Vesuvius in 1778 as 'flying Sketches'.⁵

The second group of drawings are also topographical works; executed in pen and grey wash, they may well have formed part of a more comprehensive series, and were probably preliminary studies for etchings. The three drawings, all in the National Gallery of Scotland, and purchased in 1949 from the same owner, are Craigmillar Castle, Edinburgh (ink and grey wash, 13.3 x 25.9cm, inscribed verso 'Craigmillar Castle, Mid-Lothian, Jacob More', NGS D4448, Plate 4), Dumbarton (pen and grey wash, 15.7 x 34.4cm, signed 'Jacob More', NGS D3825^{Plate H}), and Loch Lomond from Luss (ink and grey wash over pencil, 20.1 x 34.4cm, inscribed recto 'Loch Lomond Jacob More' and verso 'Jacob More', NGS D4449, Plate 5). This group serves to illustrate very clearly More's strengths and weaknesses as an artist. In Craigmillar Castle, the castle walls, perspective, and architectural detail are handled in tremulous and clumsy fashion, with strangely laboured shadowing - a complete contrast to the confident and simple rendering of the foliage, and the broad washes of water-colour, painted in his customary style with confidence and fluidity. More has not chosen to depict the panoramic view of Edinburgh that can be had from the castle, nor to indicate its impressive situation on the top of a steep, wooded hill; against his natural artistic inclinations he is in this instance determined to record the building itself (famous then as now for its historical associations, particularly with Mary Queen of Scots). The sketch of Dumbarton shows up even more clearly his incapacity to deal with buildings: the town itself holds so little interest for the artist that he has hardly indicated its presence at all, except for the inclusion of a couple of large roofs and a steeple. He has concentrated instead on the formation of the rocks and hillside, the dark grey wash creating an

extraordinary imbalance in what purports to be a townscape. It is fortunate that a third work from this series survives: Loch Lomond from Luss demonstrates More's drawing ability at its best. Though simple and brief, this sketch manages to convey a marvellous sense of open, windy space, and distant, stern mountains. The clouds are freely blocked in, in an almost casual manner, and there are no repeated outlines as in the other two works. A mountain top is lost in cloud above the mirror-like lake, which is dotted with small, shrubby islands, and a small thatched cottage nestles beneath the trees in the foreground.

These drawings may have been done on the spot like the first group, but the lack of colour, and their distinctly tight, linear quality, together with the fact that they are all very small (particularly Craigmillar Castle), would suggest that they were worked on in the studio, perhaps as preliminary drawings for etchings. No etchings by More survive, but he is known to have produced some: the antiquary George Paton, in a letter of 1772, referred to one by More's master Alexander Runciman and 'another Etching by Jacob More'.⁶ The Runciman brothers produced several etchings at this period, probably having learnt the technique from the engravers Richard Cooper, father and son; the son was one of More's long-lasting friends.⁷ There was probably some interest in etching within the Norie family as well: in 1779 George Paton made a reference to an etching by Lambert, which he had seen in Norie's collection.⁸

All the drawings discussed in this section have been landscapes; apart from a few of his studies for theatrical compositions, almost

all More's drawings and paintings throughout his career were principally landscape compositions (with the exception of his own Self-Portrait). The early drawings do in fact bear two slight sketches of other subjects on the reverse of landscapes: one in pencil (NGS D2888 verso) of two lions' heads, and another in red chalk (NGS D288) of a man's head. More's characteristic style, with its wavery lines, delicate touch, and sketchy outlines, is strange for an artist who was trained as a goldsmith, for precision and accurate draughtmanship would be the very qualities fostered by such a training; perhaps More did not complete much of his apprenticeship - his artistic temperament certainly lay in another direction.

c. The Cape Club: More's place in the artistic and cultural life of Edinburgh

Of great importance to More's development as an artist of Scottish (as opposed to English) landscape was his participation in the general revival of interest in native culture embodied in the Edinburgh Cape Club, the foremost of the numerous literary and cultural societies which grew up in Edinburgh in the mid-eighteenth century; More was an early member of the club, and for a couple of years, its secretary.¹

Though the Cape Club was not overtly political (as were some others in Edinburgh at the time) its aims and interests were staunchly nationalistic. It was composed mainly of young tradesmen who met together as a 'set of select Companions in an agreeable but at the same time a rational and frugal manner'.² Frugal it certainly was compared with some of the higher-class literary clubs; finances strictly limited the drink to beer and porter, though by 1769 members agreed to buy collectively all future copies of the Caledonian Mercury, one of the city's leading newspapers, while at the same time establishing the serious nature of the Club by the prohibition of both gaming and smoking.³ The members generally met informally, dropping in after the day's work rather than meeting at specific times, and it was thus a place for gossip and general discussion as well as formal debates and functions. The Cape Club was not altogether serious, however; the members indulged in youthful pranks in the Club rituals, which parodied masonic rites, and each member, when initiated as a 'Knight' of the Club, took a name based on a personal adventure or scrape, which he related to the assembled company.

Due to its composition, the Club had little upper-class or English influence, unlike the more wealthy societies (the Edinburgh Musical Society, for example). The two figures most revered by the Club were Shakespeare and the Scottish poet James Thomson, author of The Seasons (first published in 1727), who were celebrated at 'Grand Capes'. Shakespeare was honoured with 'a Concert of music' in 1769,⁴ but significantly Thomson enjoyed greater popularity: later on in the same month as the Shakespeare celebration quoted, 'Cape Hall' was decorated with laurel for Thomson's birthday, several of his compositions were 'performed', and 'this favourite Poet, the Honour of his Country the Bard of Liberty, and Friend of man was drunk round in a Bumper'.⁵

Jacob More was very much at the centre of the Cape Club, being an early member (he had joined by 1767, three years after its inception), and becoming elected Secretary to the Club on 28 June, 1768.⁶ He had two 'Cape' names - Sir Byre, and also St. Luke, which referred to his profession, St. Luke being the patron saint of artists; another connection was that of St. Luke's Academy, the first (and short-lived) Art Academy in Edinburgh, founded in 1729 and named after the famous Accademia di San Luca in Rome which More was to join fifteen years later in 1781.

More was employed as a scenepainter in the Edinburgh theatre during this period (see section d. of this Chapter), and several of the theatrical figures with whom he worked were also members; one was Thomas Lancashire ('Sir Cape'), the leading comic actor of the Edinburgh company, who owned the tavern where the Club met, at 'the

head of the Cannogate',⁷ the street in which the Theatre Royal (where More enjoyed his first public success in 1769) was situated.

Lancashire was made 'Sovereign' of the Club at the same time More was made Secretary.⁸ David Beatt ('Sir Revells'), a manager of the theatre until 1767, was also a member, joining soon after More.⁹

Of greater importance in the Scottish cultural scene were figures such as David Herd and James Cumming. David Herd, the second Sovereign (to whom More was probably Secretary in 1769),¹⁰ though no more than a humble clerk by profession, published his Ancient and Modern Scots Songs in 1769.¹¹ This collection, a fuller and more scholarly edition of Scottish verse than had ever been published hitherto, was prefaced with a discussion which reflected accurately the cultural attitudes of Herd and his fellow Edinburgh antiquarians, pointing out the intrinsic worth of Scots poetry (and thus, by implication, the Scottish cultural heritage in general), and emphasising that its current and growing popularity was not merely due to passing fashion or nationalistic feeling but to a new and genuine appreciation of its real worth. Another important antiquarian member was James Cumming, the Club's Recorder while More was Secretary. A colourful character,¹² and a close friend of Alexander Runciman, one of More's masters, he had been exchanging ideas and information on Scottish history and literature with James Paton since 1766. Herd, Paton, and Cumming were key figures in the Society of Antiquarians, founded in 1780, though Paton, a hermit figure, never joined the Cape Club; More executed a series of sketches for Paton before leaving Edinburgh in 1771.¹³ Another member was Walter Ruddiman, whose Weekly Magazine, the mouthpiece of Scottish cultural criticism and writing of this group, was founded in 1768.¹⁴

It was thus among a very energetic and forward-looking social group that More found his companions at this stage of his life, still only an apprentice in his late twenties, yet accepted as a figure of more senior status by his contemporaries, particularly the low-born intellectuals who contributed so much to the development of late eighteenth-century Scottish culture. More's ability to organise and take responsibility, qualities which contributed so much to his later success, were already recognised and put to good use; though always much of a loner in his personal life, he tended to be at the centre of social groups and gatherings, a quiet but dependable figure among louder and livelier companions.

d. More's Work for the Edinburgh Theatre

More's connections with the Theatre Royal Company were, as explained in the previous section, more than simply professional, for several Company members also belonged to the Cape Club. More probably worked for the Theatre as early as 1766 or 1767; it is unlikely that he would have been commissioned to design an entire set of expensive ~~scenes~~ for an important production in 1769 if he had not already demonstrated his abilities in this field.

It is most probable that he trained as a scenepainter under William Delacour. Delacour had worked as a scenepainter in London in 1740, was a colleague of West Digges (a former manager of the Edinburgh Company) and had also worked at theatres in Dublin, Newcastle and Glasgow; he had arrived in Edinburgh by 1757, and retired in 1766, a year before his death.¹ As already noted (pp.23-4) he also held another, more prestigious post in Edinburgh, as the Master of the Trustees' Academy from 1760 to 1767 - thus he may have met More as a student, perhaps before he had any connection with the theatre. There is no record of who took over from Delacour at the Theatre Royal in 1766; it may possibly have been Alexander Runciman, who then handed over to More on his departure for Italy in 1767, or More may have been the immediate successor (the earliest recorded stagework by Runciman was executed in 1775, though there is also an undated stage design in the National Gallery of Scotland).² Since Delacour's stylistic influence is strong in More's work, particularly in the early sketches, there was certainly close contact between the two men.

The history of the theatre in eighteenth-century Edinburgh is a fascinating story in itself, but here a brief introduction to the state of the theatre in the 1760s must suffice. The documentation of the subject is plentiful but confused, plagued as the theatre was with legal problems, public disturbances and internal disputes (Charles Lee Lewes, writing about the Scottish theatre in his memoirs in 1805, complained of the diffuse nature of the pamphlets and letters issued during its troubled history).³ The mid-eighteenth century had seen the development of many provincial theatres throughout Britain, but in Scotland religious objections were a continual stumbling block to public acceptance: in 1736, Allan Ramsay Senior had courageously opened a theatre in Edinburgh only to see it closed within six months, amid great controversy, by the Licensing Act of 1737.⁴ In 1741, a loophole in this law forbidding the establishment of theatres was discovered, and from then on annual theatrical seasons were held, the performances being paid for by introductory concerts to which the plays were officially appended. In 1747 the Theatre Royal was erected in the Canongate (often referred to as the Canongate Theatre); it was built as a theatre, despite official illegality, and held between a hundred and a hundred and fifty people.⁵ It succeeded in attracting good managers, including John Lee from Drury Lane and his successor West Digges, a popular and much respected actor - 'a most classical declaimer,' who 'revived the Plays of Authors eminent for their great learning and purity of language'.⁶ But the church maintained its opposition; William Creech remarked that in 1763 'The question respecting the morality of stage-plays was much agitated'.⁷ Hardening of attitudes had followed the scandal surrounding the unfortunate Scots minister, John Home, who was arraigned before the church courts and

forced to resign after the successful production of his play Douglas in 1757.⁸

Matters came to a head in the 1760s, when personal disputes began to hinder normal production; in 1766 a riot partially destroyed the theatre, and in 1767 the manager David Beatt (one of More's fellow-members of the Cape Club), fled Edinburgh to hide from debts. These events only served to worsen the already dubious public image of the company, but its defenders were quick to answer criticisms, notably Allan Ramsay Junior, who issued two pamphlets in which he upheld the merits of the company - 'as good as we can expect in Edinburgh',⁹ - and emphasised the 'uncommon fondness',¹⁰ for theatre-going among a large section of the community, a judgement upheld by the actor George Parker, who looked back some years later to his work in Edinburgh with the comment that

'no people on earth can applaud with a more generous warmth a sentiment well-penned expressive of moral or patriotic ardour; in short, they are real critics, and know perfectly well what the stage should be'.¹¹

Not a small part of the general embarrassment was due to the fact that several proprietors of this illegal business were local men of some standing (Lord Monboddo, for example). Nor were these troubles unique to Edinburgh; the theatre erected in Glasgow in 1753 had been demolished due to religious opposition, and the second, opened in 1764, suffered a fire on its opening night and burnt down in 1780.¹²

Thus it was against a background of philistinism and debate that

an application for a theatre licence was made in 1767, as part of the Royal Patent to extend the City limits north to the 'New Town'. It was feverishly rejected by the religious authorities,¹³ but accepted in 1768 by a London parliament which entertained few such moral objections - 'Whereas a licensed Playhouse is much wanted in that Part of the United Kingdom called Scotland ...'.¹⁴ The patent went to David Ross (1728-90), a well-known actor who had worked with Garrick at Drury Lane (1751-6) and at Covent Garden (1757-67), and whose father had been an Edinburgh lawyer. It was a wise choice, for he was a man of great organisational ability, immediately re-opening the Canongate theatre and setting about proposals for a new, larger one to be built in the New Town; he brought in new blood (though perhaps 'old' blood would be a better description) and 'generally furnished a good company from the malecontents of Drury Lane and Covent Garden'.¹⁵ Thus Jacob More came to work in the Theatre Royal at a particularly interesting time, with new public enthusiasm and a growing sense of professionalism within the Company itself.

Most accounts of More's life stress the importance of this phase in his career, and imply that it was his success as a scenepainter which led him to devote his career to landscape. His contemporary George Walker wrote that

'In 1767 (sic) he painted for Mr. Ross the Patentee & Manager a complete Set of Scenes for the New Theatre the flattering approbation which was bestowed on this Scenery determined Young More to direct his whole Attention to the Study of Landscape painting'. 16

It is more likely, though, that More had already turned to the

specialisation of landscape by this time, and that the commission he received for the 1769 production of the Royal Shepherd¹⁷ was the result, rather than the beginning, of his success in this genre; he would not have been chosen to work on so prestigious a production if his capabilities were not already recognised.

The standard repertoire of the Theatre Royal was Shakespeare, interspersed with the more successful plays from the London stage. The turnover of productions was, by modern standards, extremely high, and two or three new productions in one week was not unusual; thus the scenery and costumes were rarely made with only one play in mind. But the 1769 production of Richard Rolt's The Royal Shepherd was a very spectacular - and significant - occasion. The importance of the production, well recognised at the time, lay in the fact that a serious 'grand' Italian opera was performed in Edinburgh with the world-famous singer Giusto Ferdinando Tenducci,¹⁸ thus effectively enhancing both the status of the theatre in Scotland, and of the city as a musical and cultural centre. The social gap between the status of those in the theatre company (that of tradespeople) and the upper-class connoisseurs of the Arts, such as the members of the Musical Society, was bridged by Tenducci's willingness to work with both bodies. It was only fitting that the production should be on a scale suitably lavish for the celebrated singer. There were new sets and costumes, and the production was well advertised. The play was announced in the Edinburgh Evening Courant for 21 January 1769 as follows:

'Mr Ross has appointed Monday the 30th inst. for the performance of the Serious Opera called the ROYAL SHEPHERD ...

The Scenes and Dresses to be entirely new, and suitable to the characters of the Opera. The Scenes invented and painted by Mr Moore ...'

It enjoyed four productions, which was a good run, being staged twice in January and twice in March.¹⁹

The Royal Shepherd was an important and well-known opera. It had been a huge success when first put on in Italy some years previously; the composer Metastasio proudly boasted that 'No representation here is remembered to have extorted such applause', and he attributed its success to the fact that it was 'gay, tender, amorous, short'.²⁰ It was first performed in England in 1764, when it was adapted for the London stage by the composer George Rushe, the librettist Richard Rolt, and Tenucci; one of the last of the eighteenth-century operatic works to be staged in the extravagant Italian manner, and conservative in terms of European taste by 1769, it was still novelty to the Edinburgh public. From hindsight, another very important aspect of this production was the fourteen songs added to or greatly altered from the London and Dublin versions by the still largely unknown Edinburgh poet Robert Fergusson. These (according to Henry Mackenzie) were well received, for they were sung 'in the style suited to that tenderness and simplicity which are the characteristics of the ancient Scottish air, without any of those graces or ornaments which are foreign to them'.²¹

Robert Fergusson holds such an important place in the literary life of the 1770s in Edinburgh that it is worth digressing from Jacob More's work briefly to examine Fergusson's part in this and another Edinburgh theatrical production. Fergusson (1750-1774) was at the time little known; his name appeared in none of the advertisements or published versions of the productions of The Royal Shepherd, though

the three songs which he composed for Tenducci's production of another Metastasio opera, Artaxerxes, seven months later, were included in the published version - 'With the addition of Three Favourite Scots Airs. The words by Mr R. Fergusson.'²² This would suggest that his efforts for the earlier production had enjoyed some critical success. Confusion has arisen in the work of subsequent critics and literary historians over which songs were written for which production; this is due to the fact that the Caledonian Mercury made a mistake in its advertisement for The Royal Shepherd production of 21 March.²³ The confusion would suggest that the two plays may have been adapted, and even rehearsed, at the same time; Artaxerxes, like The Royal Shepherd, was something of a celebration performance, being the last but one recorded play at the old Canongate theatre and thus a 'farewell' production.²⁴ Though The Royal Shepherd was Fergusson's debut in the Edinburgh cultural scene, he was still very much of an outsider (he first met Alexander Runciman, who became a close friend, in 1772, and only joined the Cape Club that year). Fergusson was only nineteen in 1769 and it was a particularly hard year for him: he had just left St. Andrews University and was in such poverty that he was forced to spend six months of the earlier part of the year out of Edinburgh on his uncle's farm.²⁵ There is, however, some evidence that he had already formed literary ambitions, and more significantly, in view of his later work, that he had considered composing a play in a nationalistic vein on Sir William Wallace. He is said to have abandoned the project 'having seen a similar work on the same subject "because (said he to a friend) whatever I publish shall be original, and this tragedy might be considered a copy" '.²⁶ The fourteen songs for The Royal Shepherd were first attributed to him, on grounds of style, as

late as 1955.²⁷ Though there is no evidence that he was present at any of the rehearsals or performances, he certainly knew and even perhaps admired Tenducci's singing, for he paid satirical tribute to him four years later in a poem about the old Canongate Theatre: '... it has fabled been, how foreign song, Soft issuing from Tenducci's slender throat ...'²⁸

More was the first scenepainter to be named in advertisements for some years, though the privilege had been accorded to William Delacour in 1757.²⁹ More's work was obviously considered to be of a high standard, and since the production was the most lavish of that year and honoured with such a famous singer, it is reasonable to assume that More was the foremost scenepainter in Edinburgh at the time. The opera certainly provided More with ample opportunity to display his skill as a landscape painter; its scenery - hills, rivers, woods and distant cities, all anticipate his later subject-matter. None of his sets has survived (stage scenery very rarely does), but a few of the extant designs for stage sets may well be connected with this production.

Two sketches, Classical Landscape with Figures (wash heightened with white over pencil on prepared ochre paper, 31.4 x 26.5cm (oval), inscribed 'Jacob More' on border, NGS D291, Plate 6) and A Classical Landscape with Figures and Cattle (the same medium, 31.0 x 24.5cm, Plate 1)³⁰ NGS D2287, A fit very accurately the description of the scenery in the published version of the play:

'Act I Scene I An extensive Plain, surrounded with wild Trees, where Shepherds are keeping their Flocks; at the End of which (through a natural Grove, at a distance) is seen the City of Sidon, situated on an eminence: Amintas, attending his Flock, is discovered on the Front of the Stage, sitting by a Stream of Water.'

The plot of the opera comes from a tale by Quintus Curtius (Book IV, Chapter X); Alexander the Great delivered the kingdom of Sidon from the tyrant Strato, but instead of retaining power for himself, magnanimously restored power to the rightful heir (Amintas, played in this production by Tenducci) who had been living as a shepherd. The two sketches by More show the gesticulating figures by the river's edge, trees about the scene, and a city 'on an eminence'. Though faithful to the content of the scene description, they do not seem to be set designs themselves, for the free, sketchy manner, identical to that of the early landscape drawings, lacks sufficient definitions of the 'boundaries' and outlines necessary for a scenepainter to work from. However, the coincidence is surely too great for the drawings to be unconnected with the subject; it is probable, therefore, that these were either studies for two set designs, or for oil paintings based on the opera. The fact that one of them has an oval border (NGS D291) indicates that a formal treatment was probably considered. The drawings are in brown and ochre, on prepared paper, and they form an interesting parallel to More's outdoor sketches of this or a slightly earlier period. Though executed in the studio rather than out of doors, they exhibit the same hasty, free brushstrokes and lightness of touch, and the same insubstantial, dreamy atmosphere. The mountains, trees and river are handled confidently, the buildings and figures less so. The principal building in both sketches is a

round temple overlooking the river; this may well be a 'borrowed' feature, for the round 'Temple of the Sibyl' at Tivoli (which More was to paint a few years later from his own observation), was often included in the paintings of Claude Lorrain and Gaspard Dughet, two of More's principal influences as a landscape painter.

One other drawing is probably linked with this production; it is the Woodland Landscape (brown and grey wash over pencil, 34.5 x 46.0cm, Plate J), NGS D283, which was perhaps the preliminary sketch for the scenery for Act III, Scene I, described as 'A remote part of the wood.' This is more clearly a stage design, for it has none of the delicacy of the other sketches. There are the same hesitant pencil strokes, but above these the shapes of the tree trunks have been blocked in in thick washes, simplifying and strengthening the design underneath. The wide, empty foreground, with a path leading off backstage, framed by trees, is too odd a design for anything except the stage. It was also perhaps when planning this production that More made a note on the back of one of his landscape sketches (D285) 'A Palace & Wings/ a Cut Wood & Wings/ best chamber of [?]/[?] Str. Edinburgh/Jacob More'.

There are two other surviving stage designs executed in the same style as the Woodland Landscape, though they cannot be assigned with any certainty to specific productions. The first, A Flour Mill (brown wash over black chalk, 36.4 x 54.2cm, NGS D284, Plate 7)³¹, shows a mill with flour sacks in the centre, with a river, bridge and distant buildings leading to the left, and trees and a bridge to the right; the foreground is empty and there are no figures. It is blocked in heavily and confidently, and lacks completely the gentle, light-filled

atmosphere of the plein-air sketches, or the two more elaborated stage drawings already discussed. The second of these designs is the Wall of a Room (ink and brown wash, 37.0 x 53.8cm, NGS D929, Plate 8) which shows one wall of a large room, richly decorated with classical plasterwork, with an open door to another room beyond. The capitals of the pilasters are large and fanciful, though the structure of the room is carefully drawn. Three paintings are shown on the wall: the first depicts worshippers before a terme; the second, Silenus on an ass with a Bacchanalian procession; the third, women sacrificing before an altar.

Another drawing, possibly but not certainly a stage set design, is the Sacrifice (ink and watercolour over pencil, 26.2 x 36.7cm, NGS D293, Plate 9). The handling of this drawing is much looser, and the colours lighter, with yellow, blue and pink as well as ochre and brown. This could possibly be connected with the right-hand picture shown in Wall of a Room, though the shape of the altar is different. (It is possible that neither of these two last-mentioned designs is a stage set, but studies for easel paintings, of which the Sacrifice was to be one, and the Wall an indication of how the projected paintings would look together. More is recorded to have painted a sketch of Silenus, drinking from a Cup held by a Satyr, which hung at Newhall House in 1808 along with other works by him that are now lost.)³²

There is also a small sketch in the National Gallery of Scotland, hitherto ascribed to More, which is probably not by his hand. This is the Landscape with Fountain (previously catalogued as 'Italian

landscape with a town in the mid-distance', gouache, 24.9 x 38.9cm, NGS D289, Plate 10). Although it is the only gouache ascribed to More, and although it is highly coloured and roughly handled, its attribution has been accepted by previous critics, and it has been exhibited as More's work despite the disparities of medium and style.³³ It is certainly an incomplete composition, with its empty foreground and rich blue-green background, and must be either a stage set design or the background for a portrait painting. It is perhaps by Delacour, a study for the background of a portrait painting rather than a stage set; Delacour used the formula of a foreground wall and distant town in other finished portraits.³⁴

In addition to these stage designs, there are several other watercolours of a style similar to the Classical Landscape pair (NGS D291 and D2287). They may be stage designs, but are more probably, like the Classical pair, preparatory studies for lost paintings, based on dramatic themes. It has not been possible to link their subject matter with any of the plays produced in Edinburgh around the time that More would have worked for the theatre, though several could fit any drama of conspiracy. They are all done on prepared paper (an ochre gouache), in brown wash heightened with white. Very much more mature in concept and design than the previous two groups, they show the studied influence of the dramatic qualities of Salvator Rosa and of the classical landscapes of Gaspar Dughet. It would be tempting to assume that they were executed in London, the sophistication of their style a result of More's contact with new artists and new ideas,

but this seems unlikely: one of the drawings (RSA 372) bears the sketch of Stonebyres Linn, one of the Falls of Clyde, executed in the same medium, on the reverse.

The episodes illustrated in these drawings are highly dramatic; two of them, the signed Roman Soldiers and a child standing round a fire in the moonlight (pen, ink and wash, heightened with white on prepared paper, 25.0 x 32.1cm, signed 'Jacob More', NGS D2341, Plate K), and Figures round a fire (watercolour heightened with white on prepared ochre paper, 43.0 x 36.5cm, RSA 494, Plate 11) show scenes of adventure and conspiracy, the rugged trees and strong contrasts of light and dark emphasising the mysterious and gloomy atmosphere of the huddled figures. The first drawing (NGS D2341) is executed in pen and ink as well as wash, white heightening being used only for the moon, half hidden behind the bare trees, and creating a 'cold' tonal contrast to the yellow light of the fire. In the second drawing (RSA 494) no ink is used, but there is a great deal of white heightening; More may have been trying out several designs for one picture. They were perhaps preliminary sketches for theatre designs, with their empty foregrounds, 'tableaux' backgrounds, and dramatic lighting from the moon and the fire around which the figures are gathered. More demonstrated in these works that he could handle the human figure with some success when he really wanted to; though hastily sketched in, they are substantial and lively. The brushwork is done in the usual apparent haste, but is quite full and heavy in places, giving an impression of confident 'working-out' of a composition.

Two more drawings of this group, Scene of Martyrdom with Roman Soldiers (ink and wash heightened with white on prepared ochre paper, 23.7 x 31.1cm, NGS D2340, Plate 12) and Figures outside a cave (ink and gouache on prepared ochre paper, 32.8 x 26.5cm, RSA 486, Plate 13),³⁵ seem to continue the theme. The Scene of Martyrdom is executed in the same style as the two already discussed; it depicts a group of Roman soldiers beating or killing a man in the centre foreground, while another figure is dragged off into a cave to the left of the drawing. Two other figures are lightly sketched in to the right, together with the outline of a horse, and a few ragged trees surround the entrance to the cave. Again, this could well have been a stage design: the foreground is empty, and there is no recession into background space. The second of this pair (RSA 486), while depicting a similar theme - figures, carrying burdens on their shoulders, grouped around a cave entrance - is completely different in composition and style from the three previously discussed. It appears to have been executed as a work for finished presentation (although the figures themselves are still only drawn in pen), as a full range of colour is used and the composition changed so as to emphasise the dramatic qualities of the subject matter. The figures are dwarfed by the mouth of the cave, which is several times their height, and by a huge rock which fills over a quarter of the composition to the left. The figures are small and silhouetted against the dark recess, the cave is painted in deep, rich, glowing colours of blue, purple and grey gouache, the solemnity relieved by the delicate wisps of green and yellowy foliage which grow from the sheer rockface. The human element, in almost all the paintings where a human story could be made subordinate to an interest in scenery, is minimised as much as

possible. The real subject of this painting is the cave.

Another drawing which may be connected with this group is the Forest Fire (pen, ink and wash heightened with white on prepared ground, 26.2 x 32.9cm, RSA 372, verso of the Stonebyres sketch discussed on p.48). It shows a group of figures standing at the entrance to a wood, gesticulating towards a classical city on fire some distance away. It has strong tone contrasts, and vigorous movements in the swirling smoke and gesturing figures.

These drawings are of a high stylistic quality, boldly yet casually executed, with great confidence in the media of watercolour and gouache. The use of colour is particularly skilful in Figures outside a Cave; though colour is not important to More in these early theatrical sketches, several of his later, luminous watercolours of the Italian landscape do combine the delicacy of the early plein-air studies with the strength and richness of tone of this group. There are probably many lost early drawings: two recorded titles are a 'hermit reading in a cave, before a crucifix and skull' which hung in Newhall House in 1808,³⁶ and a sheet of 'caricatures, apparently of actors', owned by Iolo Williams in 1952.³⁷

Perhaps More was hoping to become a professional scene-painter. It was certainly a usual occupation for landscape painters (e.g. George Lambert), and the best means of support for a young painter in London. But it was with his easel paintings, exhibited in London in 1771, that he made his name, and it was the Falls of Clyde series which established him as the first serious artist of Scottish landscape.

CHAPTER THREE

NATIONAL RECOGNITION: THE SCOTTISH OIL PAINTINGS

a. The Falls of Clyde.

The romantic beauties of the CLYDE, have had ample justice done to them by the sister Arts of Poetry and Painting. It was here that our ingenious Artist studied those majestic scenes, the skilful imitation of which, entitles him to be ranked with the most eminent masters.

George Walker, A Descriptive Catalogue (1807)¹

Jacob More's paintings of the Falls of Clyde represent the culmination of his early artistic period, and the end of his Edinburgh apprenticeship. More moved to London in 1771 and exhibited six of his pictures, including a set of the three Falls of Clyde, at the Society of Artists' Exhibition of that year; the entries bear a London address, shared by his sister, who also exhibited a work.² The success of these paintings established More's name as a landscape painter, and he enjoyed the status of a 'discovered' young artist. Before attempting a critical analysis of the works, and of their importance in the development of British landscape painting, it is necessary to examine the full significance of More's contribution within the Scottish tradition.

The Falls of Clyde before 1771.

The Falls of Clyde provide an interesting barometer of changing ideas and taste in landscape during the eighteenth century. The



scenery of Scotland was little known to the British, let alone the foreign traveller, until the 1790s; the Scots were a politically-despised nation, roads and inns were of a poor quality compared to those in England, and the few Scots who travelled generally headed for the more prosperous south, or else abroad. Just as Scottish society was considered primitive, so was the landscape. Dr. Johnson toured Scotland in 1773 not 'to see fine places, of which there were enough in England, but wild objects - mountains, waterfalls, peculiar manners',³ and when James Boswell mentioned the tour to the philosopher Voltaire, the great man (to quote Boswell) 'looked at me as if I had talked of going to the North Pole'.⁴

Defoe's Tour ...⁵ of the 1720s was the only substantial informative work on Scotland in the first half of the century; other descriptions during this period were in poetry rather than prose. James Thomson's The Seasons (composed 1726-9) were the first 'picturesque' poems of Nature, and although written largely in England they were based on Thomson's memories of Scotland, demonstrating a detailed knowledge of the Lowlands, and of the Clyde valley in particular. During the course of composition, Thomson corresponded with Dr. William Cranstoun, owner of the Corehouse estate through which the Clyde (and the Fall of Corra Linn) flows, discussing the plan of Winter.⁶ Lines 590-606 of Summer are traditionally regarded as a description of Corra Linn (and it is an indication of changing taste that these lines were considerably altered in 1744 from earlier texts in order to make the waterfall described seem larger, and the atmosphere more 'Sublime').⁷

The first artistic representations of the three Falls (Corra Linn, Bonnington Linn and Stonebyres Linn) were made twenty years later by Paul Sandby (1730-1809), official draughtsman to the military survey of Scotland from 1747 to 1755. His series of watercolours and gouaches reflect his professional work, being records of topographical interest rather than artistic representations of the scenes.⁸ The engravings, published in The Virtuosi's Museum in the late 1770s, demonstrate (as do the alterations in Thomson's poetry) the changing taste in landscape, for the size of rocks and waterfalls is exaggerated to produce a more dramatic effect.⁹ How well Jacob More would have known these works, if at all, is difficult to determine. Certainly they may have been known to a few individuals in Edinburgh, for Sandby corresponded with a group of antiquarians in the city, who circulated his drawings among themselves.¹⁰

It was not until the publication of Sandby's engravings, however, that they were known to the general public, and it is a significant fact that it was the individual enthusiasm of a local resident (or a person well acquainted with the Lanark area) that first brought the Falls of Clyde to public notice. A letter appeared in the Gentleman's Magazine of 1758, which read thus -

Mr. Urban,

In your useful Magazine you have given your Readers some very curious Representations of uncommon Phenomena in the remotest Parts of the World: I do not, however, remember to have seen any where described, that most amazing Cataract in the River Clyde, in our own Island, that affords so much Wonder and Delight to Travellers; I have therefore sent you an imperfect Sketch of it, being no Draughtsman, which may probably excite the Curiosity of some abler Hand to visit it, and oblige the Public with a more accurate Representation.

G.S. 11

This writer considered that the Scottish scene could compete in magnificence with other more exotic and well-known places - this was a new awareness of local values. The letter also indicates that there were already some visitors to the area, though these may have been from outside Scotland, as the writer is eager to draw local, rather than national attention to the existence of the Falls. Also, it is interesting that although the writer calls upon an artist to make a 'representation' of the Falls, there is no mention of any natural beauty; the Falls of Corra Linn are seen as 'Phoenomena'. The woodcut engraving which accompanies the letter is simple to the point of childishness, but the description beneath (probably by the editor of the Magazine) shows, for the first time, an emotional response to the location. Corra Linn, the mist of which 'rises in fume, like the smoak of a furnace ...' was the 'usual abode' of Sir William Wallace; and although there is no detailed description of the Fall's dimensions, comparisons are made with waterfalls elsewhere - it is 'near as wide as the Thames at Windsor' and when in flood it 'exhibits a scene equally formidable to that of Niagara in America'. The observations are the result of some effort on the part of the part of the writer, for at Stonebyres Linn 'I found incredible difficulty to get down' and his enthusiasm led him to make superlative comparisons - 'Had these three falls been in one, I believe the whole world could not have exhibited its equal'.¹²

The few tourists who recorded their visits at this time were equally impressed. Richard Pococke, Bishop of Meath, who saw Corra Linn in 1760, concluded his enthusiastic account of the Fall thus - 'The high rocks on each side are most beautifully adorned with trees,

being altogether the finest cascade I ever saw',¹³ and his sentiments were echoed by Thomas Pennant, who visited the Falls on a tour of Scotland in 1772.¹⁴ Other publications also made the Falls known to the general public; in 1764 Clyde, a Descriptive Poem was published by the Scottish John Wilson,¹⁵ and the English reading public were introduced to the Falls in Smollett's novel of 1771, The Expedition of Humphrey Clinker. In this book, Smollett recorded the fictional tour of a family in Scotland, providing an eloquent defence of the Scottish nation, and pro-Scottish social propaganda; the family thoroughly enjoyed their trip, and included a visit to one of the Falls of Clyde which 'rushing down a steep rock, forms a very noble and stupendous cascade',¹⁶ (thus confirming that the area was now known to travellers, and also ensuring a steady flow of visitors to come). But it was fitting that the first major artistic representations should be by a native explorer of the countryside, who, never having seen the landscapes of other countries, regarded the Scottish scene as the natural subject of painting, rather than as a series of curiosities to record.

Jacob More and the Falls of Clyde

Jacob More painted at least two complete sets of the three Falls of Clyde: the first set appear to be paintings based on personal observation and on-the-spot sketches, while the second set are more sophisticated but less accurate recordings of the scenes, demonstrating a greater influence of the styles of other artists. The paintings are

all of similar size (approximately 80 by 100 centimetres), and in oil on canvas. They have not been hitherto classified as belonging to two distinct groups and they are all commonly known as Falls of Clyde; in this study they will be referred to by the names of the specific waterfalls they represent, and numbered I or II to signify whether they belong to the first or second group. It is simplest to list details, with provenances, before discussion:

Corra Linn I
(Plate 14)

- oil on canvas, 79 x 100cm.
(Plaque on frame gives date 1771)
Prov: sold Dowells, Edinburgh, 21 November 1958 (200) (1959 bt. in London by Iolo Williams); sold Spink, June 1966
Coll: Private American collection.
(Not seen). 17

Corra Linn II
(Plates 15 & 16)

- oil on canvas, 79.4 x 100.4cm.
Prov: David Martin sale, Edinburgh, 14 January - 5 February 1799, 19th day (lot 698); George Walker sale, Christie, 26 June 1807 (lot 12); Kinfauns Castle Catalogue, 1828 (no.22); Earl of Moray (Kinfauns Coll.) sale, Sotheby, 9 June 1932 (lot 56), bt. Pawsey & Payne; Rt.Hon. J.Ramsay McDonald, by whom bequeathed in 1938 to the NGS (1897)¹⁸

Stonebyres Linn I
(Plate 17)

- oil on canvas, 81.0 x 101.5cm.
Tate Gallery (T.601) (Purchased 1963 from anonymous vendor). 19

Stonebyres II
(Plate 18)

- oil on canvas, 85 x 100cm.
sold by Spinks 1966 (on sale as a Marlow) (not seen).

Bonnington Linn (?II)
(Plate 19)

- oil on canvas, 70.5 x 90.2cm.
Bequeathed by the Rev. C.Lesingham Smith in 1878 to the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (7) (Bequeathed as a Richard Wilson; attributed to Barret 1902 by Armstrong, this confirmed 1920 by Thomas Bodkin; identified as by More 1932 by Sir Alec Martin). 20

Corra Linn I and II.

The two extant paintings of Corra Linn are extremely similar. Corra Linn II is an elaboration of Corra Linn I; there is nothing in the second painting which is not in the first, except for two goats on a rock to the left. In both, the waterfall is viewed obliquely from the right, and shown as part of a general landscape setting rather than as a complete subject in itself. The hollow linn forms a natural amphitheatre for the viewers, and the force of the water is emphasised by their low position in relation to the cascade. Corra Linn I appears to be based on careful study of the location, and a visit today reveals all the elements of the composition to be the same after two centuries; Stoddart commented on seeing the painting about thirty years after it was painted - 'No painter of modern days, except the immortal Wilson, has so faithfully portrayed [sic] Nature herself in her happy moments'.²¹ There is a simplicity of design and a fluidity of brushwork which is lacking in Corra Linn II, but less of a sense of grandeur. Some areas of the painting are little developed, particularly the lower right foreground and the distant view of the upper part of the river. In Corra Linn II these areas have been elaborated with detailed rocks and foliage, not always with fidelity to the structure of the landscape - such as the inlet created on the further side of the pool. Flowers have appeared in the foreground, and goats on the new promontory on the left. The whole scene is more dramatic; the Fall is fuller and more forceful, and appears higher than it actually is, with a large quantity of white foam. This last aspect is not, however, an exaggeration: Stoddart described how 'the fineness of the foam gave it [the waterfall] the

flaky, and substantial appearance of wool'.²² The Fall is still not at its fullest; More probably chose not to portray the water at its most forceful in order to show up the dramatic nature of the rock formation; George Walker pointed this out in his description of Corra Linn II in 1807 - 'There is just sufficient water in the River, to render the fall interesting in the highest degree'.²³ The most interesting point of comparison between the two works are the human figures. They are exactly the same in pose in both paintings, but the figure on the right has been transformed from an eighteenth-century gentleman with breeches, hat and walking stick in Corra Linn I, to a toga-clad, vaguely mythological figure in Corra Linn II - the scene has been idealised. But there is still sufficient similarity to the actual scene for it to be fully recognisable, and for George Walker to refer to it as 'a faithful and characteristic representation'.²⁴

George Walker described Corra Linn II in some detail, considering it to be the best example of More's artistic achievement and of his neglected position as a major innovator of the Scottish school of painting (the beginning of his description is quoted at the head of this section). He included a very brief biographical note²⁵ and lamented the painter's later decline 'from the grand and sublime, to the less elevated line of the gay and pleasing',²⁶ concluding

'As a faithful and characteristic representation of one of the most beautiful scenes in SCOTLAND, this Piece may be considered as a national work, having been executed on the spot by the most celebrated landscape Painter which this country has produced'.²⁷

Stonebyres Linn I and II.

The two paintings of Stonebyres Linn, like those of Corra Linn, show an alteration from a faithful, unsophisticated, freely-handled treatment of the scene to a tighter, more detailed and dramatic style, though in the case of this pair, the difference in treatment is greater than between the other two. There is also an extant sketch of this scene²⁸ (pen, ink and wash with white heightening on green prepared paper, 26.2 x 32.9cm, RSA 372, Plate L): it shows a design echoing that of the other two Falls paintings, with an oblique view of the waterfall, though this time from the left, not the right, widening out to include the fields beyond. The compositions of the oil paintings are, however, quite different, but whatever the reason for the different design, it is certainly the most successful of the three. Unlike the other two, in which the artist looks down on both the figures and the cascades, the viewpoint in the Stonebyres Linns is from below the waterfall, behind the figures, looking up from a position so near the water level that the undersides of the projecting rocks are clearly visible. In Stonebyres Linn I, the waterfall is no longer part of a wider landscape - towering rocks hem the scene in, and only the distant hills are visible, above the Fall itself. The delicate ochres of the stone and the blue-grey tones of the water are united by a mist of spray which envelops the figures, who become part of the Fall, participating in its action rather than being merely observers of it. There is only one true 'spectator' who pauses momentarily while gathering wood; the others pay no attention. The hills beyond are bathed in a greeny-blue mist; the smoke on the hillside (a 'trademark' of More's later work)²⁹ echoes the white foam of

the Fall, and the simple slab of the millhouse seems almost another rock. It contrasts clearly with the predominantly green-brown hues of the other works, and has less splashes of bright colour such as white foam, or dark shadows. It is More's most delicate work, yet also his most cohesive and dramatic, with the water swirling down to central point which the viewer tantalisingly cannot see, the statuesque figure posed at this central focus - there is grandeur and force without violence. Yet although the most atmospheric of these works, it is also the most accurate topographically, and the ledges of rock bear comparison with their state today; only the horizon is a fiction, for from the vantage point of the viewer, it cannot be seen. Stonebyres Linn II suffers more from elaboration than the others in this series (so much more, that the design may even have been recreated from memory). The style is harder, clearer and more detailed, and the viewpoint higher up and further from the Fall, thus losing the sense of enclosure. The gesticulating figures, the gnarled trees, and the rippling water all detract from the Fall itself. The sky is stormy and a fierce wind is blowing (it is not surprising that it was on sale as late as 1965 as a William Marlow), and only the skeletal structure of the landscape reveals its identity. It anticipates several of More's later works influenced as it seems to be by the style of Gaspard Dughet, with the rougher texture, the whiter foam of the water, and the storm-blown trees.

As the second Falls of Clyde set is distinctly more sophisticated than the first, it would seem likely that this group was painted in London. Richard Gough, in his British Topography of 1780, mentioned paintings of a Fall of Clyde and Dunbar Castle in the collection of

More's Scottish patron Commissioner Wharton, both of which had been exhibited previously in London.³⁰ Stoddart wrote that More 'was advised by Mr. Wharton, and other liberal patrons of the arts, to improve his knowledge by studying at Rome; and in order to enable him so to do, these gentlemen purchased of him a certain number of pieces'.³¹ George Walker's comments on the matter are confused. He implied that the first set was taken to London, 'ON leaving EDINBURGH he [More] carried those pieces along with him to LONDON', yet he also stated that Corra Linn II was painted 'on the spot'.³² It is most probable that he is exaggerating the remarks that he had already made concerning the artist's topographical fidelity to the scene.

Bonnington Linn (?II)

Only one painting of Bonnington Linn is now traceable: it is probably one of the second set, due to its style - it is handled very similarly to Corra Linn II and the figures are more sophisticated than those in Corra Linn I and Stonebyres I - and its provenance (the lost Bonnington Linn was sold together with Corra Linn I in 1958). It is a less successful composition than the Corra Linns, being viewed from the same angle in relation to the waterfall (looking right to left across the cascade), but without the sense of grandeur which results from the enclosed space of the high-sided linn and the figures looking up to the Fall. In this painting, the figures stand outside the plane of the Fall, and the river flows by in the background. The basic structure of the composition is true to nature -

the smooth, placid river above the Fall, winding back eastwards, the overlooking rocks to the right, and the long, low rocks in the river to the left. But More has not chosen the most dramatic viewpoint, adopted by many later artists, looking up from these low rocks for a side view of the Fall and glimpses of the rock behind; this may have been because he wished to have 'matching' designs. The only major alteration from the natural scene is the dovecot on the promontory, portrayed clearly in Sandby's gouache of the 1740s and many later works,³³ which has been transformed into a ruined, foliage-covered tower, perhaps inspired by the ruins of Corra Castle, on the other side of the river. There is a basic weakness to the design, however, and a certain lifelessness, despite the gesticulating figures. The flat, empty foreground of rock slabs dwarfs the puny central figure, which is too weak to be a focal point. The central area of the composition is occupied by the shadowy promontory and bank, which is little detailed, and monotonous in structure, and the main force of the Fall is hidden (for dramatic effect, perhaps) behind the foreground rocks. It is a very theatrical tableau, the figures pointing to a scene of which they are not part, from outside the composition. The water itself, however, is handled as masterfully as in the other compositions, with quick, deft dabs of paint. The figures on the right, with their detailed costume and bright red colouring, may well have been touched up after the painting was first finished. They are executed in a manner far more sophisticated than usual in More's works, even in the two pictures in the second series of the Falls - their gestures are not typical of More, and the two right-hand figures could have been worked on by another hand.

Styles and influences in More's Falls of Clyde

The complete contrast between More's approach to the Falls and that of topographical artists such as Sandby, both in ideas and execution, and the novelty of taking waterfalls as the subject of not just one but a set of three large works, is quite striking. Why did More choose the Falls as his subject, why did he paint them as he did, and what influenced these decisions? The main reason he chose the Falls as subject-matter was probably a purely practical one; he wished to produce a series of paintings linked in theme, either to please his patrons or to make his mark in the Society of Artists exhibition. Water was a subject at which he excelled as a painter (and obviously enjoyed working on, as his many later waterfall paintings from Italy demonstrate). Also, he may have wished to produce a specifically Scottish subject, and the Falls of Clyde, particularly Corra Linn, were rich in both Scottish landscape character and historical associations with Sir William Wallace; Stoddart stated that 'the subjects were left to his own judgement'.³⁴ Critics have pointed out several influences in the composition and style of the paintings, particularly of various Old Master painters. Before examining these, however, the influences of local and contemporary artists will be discussed, as they are probably more important.

The most important local influences on the early landscapes (including the other extant landscapes from this period, such as Roslin Castle, which was also in the 1771 exhibition, and Neidpath Castle)³⁵ were More's first master Robert Norie, and his teacher at the Trustees' Academy, the scenepainter William Delacour. Robert Norie was very much

a pioneer in Scottish (as opposed to idealised Italianate) decorative landscape painting. Two of four large canvases executed by him on his return to Edinburgh in 1741 after studying under Lambert in London are unsophisticated depictions of imaginary, but recognisably Scottish, landscapes, with mountains, waterfalls, shepherds and a castle. James Holloway, in his article on Norie's London experience, sees the influence of Lambert behind these scenes,³⁶ though other sources which Norie would have come across in London could have been equally influential in these particular works, such as the works of Marco Ricci (1676-1730) and Joseph Goupy (1676-1730). Since the Nories specialised in Italianate decorative work the brothers would presumably have seen paintings by these artists; the treatment of water in Landscape with a Waterfall and ruins is very similar to Goupy's (e.g. Landscape with rocks, waterfall, and fishermen).³⁷ The pointing figure in Norie's Landscape with a Waterfall ... is an almost exact copy of the figure in his father's Landscape of 1736,³⁸ and the two figures in More's Corra Linns may also have been based on them. Much of Robert Norie's work has been lost - there was a Cascade with Rocks at Blair Castle which may have had more similarities with More's works than those discussed.³⁹

William Delacour had also painted waterfall scenes. Again, much of his work is lost (though as a decorative designer and scenepainter he may not have produced many oil paintings), but one of three paintings now in the Edinburgh Dental School, executed around 1760, is of a landscape with a waterfall, handled in a free, fluid manner with rococo influences.⁴⁰ A painting at Newhall House by Delacour, A moonlight with low cascade, hung with a group of More's works in 1808.⁴¹

A little-noted influence on More's work is that of Charles Steuart (fl.1758 - died c.1790), More's predecessor as a painter of specific Scottish waterfalls.⁴² He toured Scotland and England extensively, producing large decorative panels for private houses, usually recordings of the patron's property. Although wall decorations rather than easel paintings, his works reach quite a high level of detail and sophistication, and the artist shows a sound understanding of geological structure - this last element bearing the most similarity to More's work. The best examples of his waterfall paintings are in the series he executed for the Duke of Atholl, still in situ in the dining room and tearoom of Blair Castle. One of these, ^{Plate M)43} the Black Lynn Fall on the Bran of 1766 is a head-on view of a surging waterfall and jagged rocks; the rocks are more clearly defined than any in the works by Sandby, Delacour or Norie, though the actual water is still quite hard and 'linear'. Even more dramatic is the Rumbling Brig, with a fierce diagonal fall across the canvas, dwarfing the puny figures beside it. The first of these works may have had an influence on the design of the Stonebyres Linns, and the second on the Corra Linns, though the general theme and handling, the soft greeny-browns of the colouring, and the scale and confidence of these works were perhaps just as important influences.

Another peripatetic decorative landscape painter was the Irish George Barret (c.1730-1784), to whom More's Bonnington Linn I was attributed in 1902 and 1920, due to the similarity of both artists' handling of water. His series of decorative landscape paintings executed for the Duke of Buccleuch includes a Landscape with River and Figures which shows a head-on view of a (very small) waterfall, and

five figures retrieving a log from the river.⁴⁴ Barret's swift, delicate touch in painting water with watery, almost dribbling strokes of the brush, is quite unlike Steuart's linear style, but very close to that of More. It is impossible to determine whether More actually saw the paintings of Steuart and Barret, though it would be reasonable to suggest, from his interest in waterfalls as subjects for oil paintings, and from his handling of water, that he probably did.

This new painting of localised scenes in Scotland was only a little behind the developments elsewhere, though it is impossible to know how much More had seen of certain artists' work - that of Richard Wilson (1713/14-1782), for example. Though Wilson tended to work from an idealisation of nature towards the specific location, in contrast to More's progression from the specific to the ideal, a comparison could be made between a work such as Wilson's Holt Bridge on the River Dee⁴⁵ of 1762 with More's Bonnington Linn I. In both there is a departure from strict topographical recording, yet both locations are clearly recognisable. The resemblance to Wilson was noted in More's day, and many of More's works have been attributed to Wilson or his school since then, including Bonnington Linn I.⁴⁶ More was often referred to as 'the Wilson of Scotland' and generally regarded by writers of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as a parallel within the Scottish tradition; but although the general designs of More's works often have a superficial resemblance to Wilson's owing to the similarity of subject matter, More's work never displays the broad, heavy blocks of thick paint, or the blue-green colour schemes and golden lighting of Wilson's work.⁴⁷ Wilson painted England and Wales as if under Italian skies, while More retained a northern

light in his oil paintings, even in some of his later works of Italian scenes.

Although More's Falls show the influences of several or all of these possible sources, he departs from them in his evocation of mood, which derives from the Old Masters and the fantastic scenes of imaginary Nature found in the work of Vernet, and nearer home, the sketches of Sandby and Robert Adam. Sandby indulged his fancy in drawings such as The Waterfall (Nottingham Castle Museum and Art Gallery),⁴⁸ a light, deft sketch in gouache, with delicate blues, greens and greys, depicting a ruined tower on a precipice above a fiercely flowing mountain torrent, the smoke rising from the hill behind recalling the motif of distant smoke in More's Stonebyres Linn I; the style and approach of this imaginary landscape is a complete contrast to the schematic, factual approach of his series of the Falls of Clyde. Robert Adam's picturesque drawings are even more fanciful, sometimes to the point of the ridiculous.⁴⁹ More had not necessarily seen works by these artists, but the examples cited here demonstrate that this attitude to nature was by the 1770s not uncommon.

The artist most cited by modern critics as the major influence on More's Falls of Clyde series is Claude-Joseph Vernet (1714-1789), whose Landscape with a Waterfall^(Plate N) of 1746 hung in Dalkeith House in More's day,⁵⁰ though there is far less similarity between this painting and More's Falls than between other works already cited. Certainly the general design may have had some bearing on the design of the Corra Linns, with the waterfall to the right of the painting,

and a sheltered pool with figures and a blasted tree trunk - but these elements are also found in the works of Norie, Steuart and Barret. The colouring of Vernet's painting is rich and glowing, the scene is bathed in a golden light which gives the effect of an indoor tableau, and the lack of gradation in chiaroscuro and colour tones, though far more masterfully handled, are all elements very different from More's delicate touch. The example of such a scene being the subject of a work of such calibre and social value, however, may have had a great effect on More.

Of the Old Masters, the most obvious influence is that of Gaspard Dughet (1615-75). There are few specific examples which can be cited, but the general handling of foliage, foaming torrents, and soft surrounding countryside is reminiscent of Dughet's works.⁵¹ Travellers of the eighteenth century often described the Falls themselves in terms of 'Claudian' landscapes, but there is little Claudian influence in More's Scottish landscapes, though a great deal in his later work; as the Irwins have pointed out, waterfalls are not Claudian.⁵² The third of the trio of seventeenth-century artists who influenced the late eighteenth century so much, Salvator Rosa (1615-1673), was also mentioned by More's contemporaries in descriptive passages.⁵³ Again, it was later in his career that More consciously modelled some of his style on this artist; and although the locations themselves display extremely Rosa-like qualities, the dramatic and dangerous aspects of the scenes (for example the jaggedness of rocks) is underplayed by More. The contemporary fashion for the wild and Romantic which derived ultimately from works such as Rosa's is barely hinted at, and very few of More's figures are ever dramatic.

A clearer influence is that of Dutch models; several works of Jacob van Ruisdael (1628/9-82) are based on similar scenes. The green-brown-grey tints of Corra Linn I and II, especially, have much in common with this type of work, and Stonebyres II is reminiscent of Dutch storm pictures.⁵⁴ Stonebyres I, however, remains very much an original conception. The handling of the paint itself, with quick, light touches of loose, thin paint shows some influence of Dutch models too (and is certainly unlike most of More's precedents in waterfall painting in Britain). One other possible model is the work of Allan Ramsay, which, although so different in theme, demonstrates the same sensuous touch and understanding of tones.⁵⁵

Topographical Identifications

There has been some controversy over the identification of two of the Falls in More's paintings, Bonnington Linn and Corra Linn. Until 1972, all the Falls attributed to More were simply entitled Falls of Clyde. But in 1972 Dr. David Irwin, in an article on More, asserted that the painting in the National Gallery of Scotland was of Bonnington Linn. This claim was repeated in the book Scottish Painters ... of 1975.⁵⁶ Two members of the National Gallery staff, dubious about this identification, visited the Falls themselves in 1976; they decided that the work was of Corra Linn, and that another Falls of Clyde in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, which Dr. Irwin had identified as Corra Linn, was in fact Bonnington Linn.⁵⁷ Dr. Irwin rejected their opinion, and in another article 'The Falls of Clyde' (1977) reproduced both these paintings with the identification he had previously proposed (Bonnington Linn/National Gallery of

Scotland, Corra Linn/Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge).⁵⁸ The following year the two members of the National Gallery staff displayed both works in The Discovery of Scotland exhibition, reiterating their own identification (the reverse of Dr. Irwin's).⁵⁹ Since four publications have failed to solve the difference of opinion, every possible representation of the three Falls has been examined in the course of this research, and the Falls themselves have been examined with the aid of an Ordnance Survey map to check locations, and reproductions of More's paintings; it is now clear that the National Gallery of Scotland's present identification is correct.

Bonnington Linn and Corra Linn, about half a mile apart, are immediately upstream from New Lanark (see Plates 20 and 21); Stonebyres Linn is two miles downstream. All accounts agree that Corra Linn is a compact, high waterfall, that it falls into a round 'amphitheatre', that there is a low promontory to the right (looking upstream), and that there is another small fall a short distance upstream.⁶⁰ On the right bank is Corehouse Mansion and the ruins of Corra Castle. Bonnington Linn is a much wider, shallower fall, with placid waters immediately upstream; it is impossible to get down to the river by the right bank, but near the left bank there are long, low rocks in the river on which one can walk to within a few feet of the main cascade. Above them, in the eighteenth century, there was a high, rocky promontory with a dovecot on it; today this promontory has become an island, linked to the bank by a metal bridge over the new fall. (The dovecot can be seen in works by Sandby⁶¹ and Alexander Nasmyth,⁶² painted before and after More's series). Nicholson's Bonnington Linn of 1815 shows the new fall.⁶³ Dorothy Wordsworth, who

recorded in her journals her two visits of 1803 and 1822, remarked on the new fall and the iron bridge.⁶⁴

More took artistic liberties with Bonnington Linn, making it look slightly higher than it is, concealing part of the cascade behind rocks, and changing the dovecot into a more dramatic ruined tower. Dr. Irwin, in his 1977 article, cites the presence of the tower, which he identifies as Corra Castle, as a proof of his identification of the Fall,⁶⁵ but Corra Castle is on the other side of the river (on the next page of the article he reproduces one of the engravings made from Sandby's sketches of Corra Linn, showing both the Fall and the castle, and commenting on Sandby's interest in the castle ruins).⁶⁶

Three things can confuse the modern visitor. The first is that the Falls are now used for hydro-electric power and are so reduced in volume that (except when snow is melting upstream, or on the several days each year when the water is 'turned on' again) their appearance is considerably different from the impressions ^{they make} in the paintings. The second cause of confusion is that the power station between New Lanark and Corra Linn bears the misleading name 'Bonnington'. A visitor could thus mistake the first Fall reached from New Lanark (Corra Linn) as Bonnington, and may not even reach Bonnington Linn, as there is a smaller Fall, Dundaff Linn, between the two. The third point of confusion is that other artists of the Falls have themselves confused the names, even when portraying the scenes accurately.⁶⁷

There is also proof of the subjects in the provenance of the National Gallery of Scotland's Falls, which can be traced back to

George Walker's Sale of 1807; it is described in the Catalogue as 'the Great Fall of Clyde called Cora-Linn', with the comment that it is 'a faithful and characteristic representation'.⁶⁸

The Falls of Clyde after Jacob More's Series

The success of More's works, together with Sandby's engravings of 1778 and the general development of the cult of the Picturesque, put the Falls of Clyde 'on the map' for future artists and writers. Though Dr. Johnson and Boswell in 1773, and Gilpin in 1776, did not include the Falls in their travels, the description given to Gilpin during a later stage of his tour caused him to regret 'our not being apprized of this scenery'.⁶⁹ He was particularly impressed by the rivers he saw - 'One genuine Scotch torrent is fairly worth all the serpentine rivers in England'.⁷⁰

The first English publication to mention More's paintings was Richard Gough's British Topography of 1780; in his description of one Fall he noted that 'Mr. Jacob More painted for commissioner Wharton a fine view of this cataract'.⁷¹ His information may well have come from the Edinburgh antiquarian George Paton, with whom he corresponded.⁷² Another writer, John Stoddart, having viewed Wharton's painting twenty years later, was sufficiently impressed to climb to the same vantage point, 'rather difficult of access', from which More had painted.⁷³ Joseph Farington sketched the Falls in the 1780s for his joint publication with John Knox, Picturesque Scenery of Scotland; to him Stonebyres was 'one of the features which Scotland has reason to boast of',⁷⁴ and Corra Linn 'so perfect a composition to speak the language

of art, as to leave no room for proposing an alteration in any of the accompaniments'⁷⁵; More had fortunately chosen a subject which admirably suited contemporary taste. The true inheritor of More's role as the artistic guardian of the Scottish landscape was George Walker, who formed his own 'Scottish Scenery' collection at the suggestion of Alexander Runciman; it included three of More's paintings, one being 'his great Work of the View of Corra Linn'.⁷⁶ Cririe's Scottish Scenery of 1803 was illustrated with prints made from drawings by Walker, which had been executed in a novel technique communicated to him from Rome by More (discussed on p.174)⁷⁷.

Walker was not a commercially-minded artist, and it was unfortunately the theatrical and spectacular elements of the scenes which became increasingly important to visitors. Artists such as John White Abbott continued to work in the topographical-picturesque tradition in the 1790s,⁷⁸ while others followed the dramatic descriptions of travel writers such as Thomas Newte (who wrote on the Falls in 1785)⁷⁹ in producing exaggeratedly theatrical scenes of grandeur and violence. Alexander Nasmyth (1758-1840), who had probably known More in Rome in the early 1780s, produced a large number of this type of painting, concentrating in particular on the magnitude and force of the surging foam, to the neglect of the surrounding scenery; by 1791 he had already produced three sets of the three main Falls, and by the end of the century he had become the most popular and well-known artist of the upper Clyde.⁸⁰ His lack of interest in the landscape as a whole however led him to revert to a neat and insipid recording of the topographical elements, especially of rock formation and distances.

By the end of the century the Falls had become one of the most popular scenes for landscape artists in Scotland: Hugh William Williams sketched there in 1799, and Turner on his Scottish tour of 1801.⁸¹ Sir John Carr remarked in 1807 that the 'Scottish artists are much occupied in delineating Scotland ... There is scarcely a stream unsung, and in a short time there will scarcely be a hill or tree unpainted'.⁸² With tourists flocking to the area (the sociological interest of the 'model' milltown at New Lanark also drawing visitors), seats were built, paths laid, and guides provided. Dorothy Wordsworth, in her journal of 1822, recorded her disgust at the ruination of Nature by these trappings;⁸³ William Wordsworth set the seal on her fears by writing the poem Composed at Corra Linn.⁸⁴ As the Falls became more accessible, depictions of them became grander and wilder, attempting to recapture a savagery now lost, and guidebook writers admitted their admiration for the eighteenth-century artists and travellers who had managed to reach them unaided by modern facilities.⁸⁵ Sir Walter Scott, also responsible for popularising the Clyde with the British public, brought the Picturesque era of the Falls to a close; walking in the grounds of Corehouse Mansion on the other side of the river from the public right of way, he was relieved to find that Lord Corehouse 'has the sight and escapes the tourists'.⁸⁶

Though it was the series of the Falls of Clyde which established More's name as an artist, there were other Scottish landscapes exhibited in London which were perhaps of equal merit (discussed in the following section). However, the fact that the Falls paintings were of novel subject-matter, and that they were a series, led them to enjoy great popularity and success, bringing recognition to both the painter and the scenes depicted.

b. Other Scottish Landscapes in Oil

Of the other Scottish landscapes shown in London in 1771, only one is now known. This is the Roslin Castle (oil on canvas, 73 x 90cm, coll. The Rt.Hon. The Earl of Wemyss and March ^{Plate O}),¹ probably exhibited as A View of Ross Linn Castle (no.95). The painting entered the Wemyss collection at a much later date, and has been attributed to various hands, including Richard Wilson and George Barret.² It shows the castle on its rock with the high-arched bridge to the right, above the gently-flowing Esk. As in Stonebyres Linn I, two of the figures are busy about their work, while one gazes at the main subject of the composition behind them. It is a gentle, serene landscape, a contrast to the drama and force of the Falls of Clyde series. The colouring of the painting is predominantly blue and brown, and comes close to Wilson's palette. Unfortunately it has suffered in recent times from such drastic cleaning that the top layer of paint has been almost completely removed with resulting loss of detail, and some areas of the canvas are exposed. This serves to show, however, that More worked the painting up from general masses to finished detail, rather than following a precise drawing through all the stages of the work. In the National Gallery of Scotland there is a rough sketch of this scene (ink over pencil, 29.7 x 50.4cm, RSA 1297 ^{Plate P}),³ executed in the same style as the drawing of Stonebyres Linn (see p.59). As it bears neither signature or inscription, it is reasonable to assume that it is a preliminary ^{study} for the oil painting. Roslin Castle was a much-visited spot during the latter half of the eighteenth century;⁴ John Beugo, in a footnote to his poem Esk Water (part of which is quoted at the head of Chapter Two b.) wrote that 'Jacob More, the celebrated

landscape painter is known to have made his earliest sketches on the Esk'.⁵

The other extant oil painting from this period is Neidpath Castle (oil on canvas, 61 x 76cm, signed verso, and inscribed 'Needpath Castle', private British collection, not seen, Plate 22).⁶ It shows the river Tweed meandering through the low, wooded valley with Neidpath Castle sketchily defined in the distance, and three fishermen with their catch in the foreground. As in Bonnington Linn, the figures appear to have been added to an already finished landscape, and the central foreground area is lacking in interest. Skilful use has been made of light effects: the immediate foreground is in shadow, and a band of light falls across the nearest and widest part of the river. The castle stands out as a dark silhouette in another band of shadow, against distant hills in sunlight. The figures are in local costume, but their poses seem heroic rather than those of realistically-observed fishermen (a contrast to the figures in Stonebyres I and Roslin Castle, which are partly hidden behind rocks and branches, unconsciously engaged in some form of work). The whole painting is executed in an extremely sketchy style, with very free handling of the foliage, particularly of the trees and branches in the foreground. Neither Roslin Castle nor Neidpath Castle is dated, but they clearly belong to More's Scottish period on grounds of subject matter and style. They both have the free and sketchy quality of the first Falls of Clyde series, and they do not have the sophisticated look of the second set.

There are no early records of Neidpath Castle, but several lost paintings from More's Scottish period are better documented. One of

the paintings exhibited at the Society of Artists in 1771 was a View from Dunbar Castle (no.92), which was perhaps a companion piece for the Roslin Castle in the same exhibition. No descriptions of it survive, though Gough in his British Topography of 1780 noted that

'Jacob More, one of the first painters in landscape living, made a fine picture of Dunbar Castle in a storm; exhibited in Pall Mall some years ago. It is in the possession of Tho. Wharton, esq; one of the commissioners of the excise in Scotland'. 7

In 1779, George Paton, in a letter to Gough, mentioned that More 'did sketch the ruins of Dunbar Castle for me in a Book, which he carried alongst with him to Italy';⁸ this may have been connected with the oil painting.

More detailed descriptions survive of two other lost paintings, both of which were included in George Walker's Sale Catalogue of 1807. One, an oval canvas, was described thus:

'A SUN SETTING, with figures and cattle.
THIS is a view on the Banks of the FORTH, near Stirling Castle.
ON the left, an old oak tree rises over a rock, near which a small fall of water empties itself into a pool below, at which there are some cattle drinking.
PART of the great rock, called the Castle Craig, occupies the centre of the Picture, together with the windings of the river, which run off towards the right. In the distance is a range of hills. On the foreground are two picturesque figures. Though this is a rather slight and sketchy picture, it is executed in a very masterly style, and pleasing tone of colouring'. 9

One of the paintings exhibited in the 1771 exhibition was A Large

Landscape; an evening, but the description of Walker's picture, the Sun Setting, in the Kinfauns Castle collection Catalogue of 1828, gives the dimensions as 2'1" x 1'9"¹⁰ - and as a Stonebyres Linn was exhibited at the exhibition, it is likely that Walker's work was a different one. The Kinfauns Castle Catalogue takes much of its description from Walker's Catalogue, quoting certain phrases verbatim.

Also in George Walker's Catalogue of 1807 was the Land Storm, probably shown in London in 1771 as A small landscape, a land storm (no.93). George Walker's detailed description represents the fullest early assessment of More's achievement:

'A richly broken bank and rugged tree, occupy the left corner of the foreground. Towards the right, stands the shattered trunk of an aged oak; near the centre, a group of oak and ash trees rise to a great height; beyond these, and on ground more remote, appear the skirts of a forest. On the left is seen part of a lake, with an old castle on its margin; a range of hills occupies the distance, all which are under shadow of a large cloud that enters from the left, and extends obliquely across the Landscape. Beyond the bank just mentioned, a Horseman, who seems to keep his seat with difficulty, is riding up towards the foreground, on which there is an elegant figure, whose attitude and the flowing lines of her drapery, denote the violence of the wind.

THE light is from the left, it is finely managed in the sky, falls strong on the foreground, as well as on the stems and foliage of the great oak and ash trees, whose forms and colours are picturesquely contrasted with each other ... the piece now before us fully proves, that the most magnificent scene may be done justice to in this line of Art, even on a small scale. We have scarcely ever seen an idea of motion or extent more happily expressed, than those suggested by the management of the sky and cloud introduced in this Picture: their threatening aspect, the troubled state of the water, the apparent agitation of the trees, and the solemn gloom that overspreads the distance, portend the approach of an awful storm.

IT is not sufficient to say, that the whole of this composition is in perfect unison, and that in colouring, execution and effect, the Artist has surpassed himself: it exhibits one of the happiest efforts of superior talents, of a mind stored (like those of the immortal WILSON and NICOLO POUSSIN,) with ideas of the most sublime effects of nature, in short, it is equal to any praise; and, in SCOTLAND, we look around us in vain for any thing in the line of modern Art with which it may be compared ...

THIS, and the preceeding picture [Corra Linn II] were some time in the possession of SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS, who took pleasure in showing them to his friends'. 11

It was indeed a small painting - Walker gave the dimensions as 1'7" by 1'3".¹² Like the Sun Setting, it entered the Kinfauns collection, described in the 1828 catalogue thus:

'This beautiful little Picture may be considered a chef d'oeuvre of the masters. Had all More's works been conducted with the same science as this picture, he would have possessed a fame which should not be separated from an Artist whose penciling was so masterly. Jacob More's Pictures too generally want concentration of light; but the present picture is equally remarkable for breadth, simplicity, and harmony. The trees torn by the tempest are gracefully disposed, and executed in a bold and spirited manner. The figures are well introduced, and may be considered as a truly honourable specimen of the British School of Painting'. 13

Sir James L. Caw also mentioned the painting in 1908, though it has since been lost. He described it as 'A little upright, some eighteen inches by fourteen, of a wild and gloomy day in a woodland', which 'has a unity of design and a depth of tone, and is informed by a romanticism of spirit which seem a foretaste of Rousseau and Diaz'; had More kept up this quality of work 'he would have been a force to reckon with'.¹⁴ The painting was sold in the Earl of Moray sale, 1932,

along with Corra Linn II (Sotheby, 9 June, lot 55, 18" x 14"). A version of the same subject, slightly larger but still smaller than the Falls of Clyde series, had been included in the sale of the Edinburgh painter David Martin, who knew More in London.¹⁵

This may have been a second, more finished version, for it is described as a 'Storm, by Jacob More, elegant carved and gilt frame' (it could possibly be the same painting as that previously discussed, with the frame included in the dimensions). Also in the same sale was 'A sketch, a storm, by Jacob More', a larger work of similar dimensions to the Falls series. Another smaller painting, 14" by 10", described as a Wooded Landscape, was sold at Dowells, Edinburgh, in December 1950.¹⁶

Several other paintings are recorded briefly. Colonel Grant, in his Old English Landscape Painters, noted that

'There is from his hand a tiny Brig o'Turk of pretty quality, interesting from its exact identity with the famous spot as it exists today, but rendered as uninteresting as possible by the introduction of Roman maidens by the banks of the Perthshire burn'.¹⁷

Toga-clad figures appeared in Corra Linn II, but these classical figures would demonstrate an unusual mixture of topographical and idealised landscape painting. A complete contrast was another early landscape which hung at Newhall House in 1808, equally unusual for having no figures in the composition at all:

'An old tree hung with ivy on the foreground, a cave on the right, a white modern mansion with a town under a shower of rain beyond it, without figures'.¹⁸

This was perhaps the small Pastoral Subject sold from the Gibson-Craig collection at Dowells in 1887.¹⁹

There are four extant paintings attributed to More's early period which are probably not by his hand. The first is A Natural Arch (oil on canvas, 41.0 x 62.5cm, coll. Brinsley Ford), which has hitherto been presumed a Scottish waterfall painting (and exhibited as such in The Discovery of Scotland exhibition in 1978).²⁰ The waterfall depicted is in fact that of Neptune's Grotto, Tivoli, which More himself painted later in his career (see Plates 70 and 71); it was a very popular subject for landscape painters in Italy, particularly from 1790 onwards, and this viewpoint is typical of later works.²¹ The elements of the composition are too compact and rigid to be by More, and the colouring is chiefly composed of rich browns, russets and greens, rather than More's lighter tones; the waterfall is too thin and restrained in handling, and the paint too dry; there is little atmosphere, and the chief subject of the painting is the rock structure rather than the waterfall. (James Holloway, who attributed the work to More in the 1978 exhibition, still holds to his original opinion, but John Dick, Restorer to the Gallery, agrees that its stiff handling of paint, its solidity and its rich tones cannot be by More).

The second attributed painting is Landscape with Waterfall (oil on canvas, 86.4 x 140.3cm, Laing Art Gallery, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, SB 290). The style is completely unlike that of More, and it is a stiff composition with no attempt at the faithful rendering of water, by

the hand of a mediocre artist working in the style of George Barret. It is very similar in both composition and style to The Cascade at Hestercombe, Somerset, by John Inigo Richards (oil on canvas, 78.7 x 63.5cm, signed and dated 1770, National Trust, Stourhead), and could possibly be by this artist.

The third painting is A Hilly Landscape, with an Artist sketching in the foreground (oil on canvas, 95 x 121.7cm, sold at Christie's in 1954).²² The sale catalogue adds the note 'Painted for Sir W. Beechey, R.A.', though the source of this information is not stated. It shows distant crags with a small waterfall, viewed from across a valley, and an artist seated on the foreground slope. The handling is tight and precise, and the waterfall appears to be a small trickle over the rocks; it has none of the character of More's work, but as it is only known from a photograph, a final opinion on its attribution cannot be made.

The fourth painting is a Capriccio composition, in the tradition of Panini (oil on canvas, 'about thirty by forty inches', not seen) restored and sold by Aitken Dott, Edinburgh, in the 1960s; it is said to be signed and dated.²³ More rarely painted buildings in any detail, and never produced an oil composition wholly of architecture; the architectural features he did depict are always vaguely sketched in, a contrast to the firm and solid (if unfinished) handling in this painting. His master Delacour, however, produced many such compositions, including a series at Yester House, East Lothian, in 1761.²⁴ This small Capriccio may therefore be a copy by More of Delacour's work or a canvas by Delacour, given to More, who then

inscribed his name on it.

By the time More left Scotland in the early 1770s his work had assumed its mature characteristics, with an almost exclusive interest in landscape, and a concentration on novel, delicate use of colour, predominantly in pastel shades. The brush strokes are light and apparently casual, with very free handling of paint in comparison with the work of most of his contemporaries. More had already chosen to strike out on his own in his subject-matter and methods, rather than to follow the paths of his teachers; this individuality of approach was perhaps fostered as much by his extremely late training as by his natural independence of mind. Whether he anticipated the public recognition which his Scottish works brought him is not known, though the tone of his biographers' accounts suggest that his future success in London and abroad was unexpected, a few years study in Italy being all that he looked to before settling down to a more modest career in his own city.

c. More in London, c.1771 - c.1773

Little is recorded of More's life in London, and the length of his stay cannot be determined with any certainty. He had probably decided to go to Rome before leaving Scotland, following the example of his master Alexander Runciman. Stoddart stated that the Falls of Clyde series had been painted as payment to 'Mr. Wharton, and other liberal patrons of the arts, to improve his knowledge by studying at Rome'.¹ Brydall named two other patrons by whom More was 'enabled to go to Italy': these were 'Mr. Alexander, a banker in Edinburgh, and

Chief Baron Montgomery'.² Wharton, a commissioner for excise, has already been mentioned as a collector of More's Scottish paintings.³ Robert Alexander, who formed a large collection of landscape paintings, was a merchant and financier, a member of the Board of Trustees (governing the Trustees' Academy), and one of Alexander Runciman's chief patrons.⁴ Chief Baron Montgomery was also on the Board of Trustees (see p.21). Joseph Farington, who knew none of these patrons, quoted More's friend Sandys as stating in 1810 that on leaving Scotland 'More resided in London, from whence He was carried to France by a Mr. Alexander, and to Italy'.⁵

More's paintings were sent in to the 1771 exhibition from a London address, 'Mr. Mountain's, King Street, Soho'. His sister (discussed pp. 223-4) came south with him, and exhibited needlework pieces in 1771, 1772 and 1777. Although few records of this period of More's life survive, much of his artistic activity can be deduced from the social connections he is known to have made.

Most of More's biographers have stressed the importance in More's career of Sir Joshua Reynolds. Walker is typical in his account:

'SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS, to whom he was introduced, was so pleased with them [the Scottish landscapes] that he warmly recommended the Artist to the notice of some of the Nobility by whom he was afterwards employed'. 6

It is unlikely that More ever worked in Reynolds's studio: Farington stated that in 1769 Reynolds had six pupils and two assistants,⁷ but James Northcote, who became a pupil of Reynolds in 1771, did not know

More until he met him in Rome in 1777.⁸

Manuscript sources reveal more information about More's contacts. Among the Society of Artists papers in the Royal Academy is an undated letter written by the Scottish painter David Martin on behalf of an artist called More, asking for his admission to the Society, which was effected before 1773:

'Gentlemen

I am desired by M^r More to beg the favour of his Admition at our accademey as soon as it is cosistent with the rules of the Socceity & am Your Most obedient Serv^t.

David Martin

'To the Precedent & directors of the Socity of artists of Great Britain.' 9

David Martin (1736-1798) was at this time an assistant of Allan Ramsay (1713-1784), chief painter to the court of George III; he was also particularly active in the Society of Artists, becoming its treasurer in 1773.¹⁰ He acquired several of More's paintings, sold after his death in 1799.¹¹ It was perhaps through Martin that More met Allan Ramsay (though he no doubt had a letter of recommendation from his patrons to this Edinburgh artist, or may even have met him in Edinburgh at an earlier date). Ramsay must have seen More's work in London, for he employed him only a few years later in Italy as his draughtsman for illustrations of his projected publication on Horace's Sabine Villa.¹²

The manuscript letters of another young Scottish artist, James Clark, staying in London at the same time, describe the sort of

connections that More is likely to have made; they also provide an interesting insight into a young artist's relationship with Ramsay. Writing to his patron James Grant of Grant in 1768, Clark related that

'I have by this time seen the works of most of the celebrated Painters in town and cultivated an acquaintance with some of them particularly Miss Read, M^r. Willison, M^r. Croane, M^r. Zuki [Zucchi], M^r. Hamilton and M^r. Ramsay, I should pay the latter more frequent visits than I do, were it not for his bad memory, which puts me under the disagreeable necessity of always letting him know who I am; even no further than last day he could not recollect me'. 13

Jacob More was an extremely energetic and ambitious man; Clark was more modest about his abilities,¹⁴ and had none of More's newly-won success as an introduction - it would therefore be reasonable to assume that More made at least as many artistic connections at this time.

One major source of artistic influence during his London stay was acknowledged by More himself, in a letter written to his patron Thomas Harvey in 1790. Discussing the paintings of Joos de Momper he wrote 'I remember M^r. Wilson mentioning this Master to me and one may see that he look'd at them himself'.¹⁵ Little is recorded of Wilson's life at this period, though it is known that the years 1770-5 saw a change from prosperity to poverty in his general affairs.¹⁶ The influence of Wilson is apparent throughout More's career, most particularly in the landscapes of the 1770s and early 1780s. Wilson may also have influenced More's increasing dependence on Claudian

models: Thomas Jones recorded that when he and his fellow-students were failing to concentrate on their studies, Wilson cried 'Gentlemen - this is no way to rival Claude'.¹⁷ More certainly met Thomas Jones in London, for when Jones arrived in Rome in 1776, he found in the English Coffee House

'my Old London Acquaintance Messrs Pars Humphrey Durno, Day, Jeffreys J. More and Cousins painters, Banks the Sculptor & Nat. Marchant the Seal Engraver'. 18

Although More may have spent much of his time in London studying, still receiving financial support from his Edinburgh patrons, and perhaps also producing the second series of the Falls of Clyde paintings, he probably also worked in the theatre. He was an experienced scenepainter with a good, if junior, reputation (see Chapter Two b.), and this type of work was standard employment for landscape painters in the eighteenth century. He also had theatrical connections through David Ross, for whom he had worked in Edinburgh: Ross had been at Covent Garden and Drury Lane before coming up to Edinburgh in 1767.¹⁹ No records of More can be traced in theatrical documents of the period, but scenepainters were rarely mentioned in playbills.²⁰ Judging from More's later landscapes, there appears to be a definite influence on his style from at least two scenepainters who were working in London at this time. One, whose subject-matter comes particularly close to More's, was Robert Carver (fl. 1750-91), who had worked as a landscape painter and scenepainter in Dublin before coming to London in 1769 to work at Drury Lane, and subsequently at Covent Garden.²¹ He was particularly noted for his skill in

conveying the effects of light and water; his style is nearer to Barret than to More, but his delicately-coloured views and serene atmospheres may have had an effect on More's later work. Another theatrical influence, very evident from the style of More's Italian landscapes of the 1780s, was Philip James de Loutherbourg (1740-1810), an exact contemporary of More, who arrived from Paris in 1771. He became Garrick's scenepainter, producing his first set of scenes in December 1772; he revolutionised the role of both scenepainting and the scenepainter, and his vast oil paintings, with their brilliant lighting effects and violent colours, have much in common with More's large, commercial productions of the 1780s; it is tempting to wonder if More was his assistant.²² There may also have been an Edinburgh connection between de Loutherbourg and More: when de Loutherbourg first arrived in London, he stayed with the Italian fencing-master Angelo who acted as host to many foreign artists, and who had recently bought a riding stable in Edinburgh.²³

It is very likely that More met his old master Alexander Runciman while in London. The exhibition at which More's paintings were shown in 1771 was opened at Spring Gardens on 26 April;²⁴ Runciman hoped to exhibit a work in the exhibition, but he did not return from Italy in time (and so showed the painting the following year). He was first noted back in Edinburgh on 22 January 1772, and exhibited the painting he had brought from Italy in the Society of Artists that spring, submitting the painting from a London address; thus he either passed through London to deposit the painting with a person who could take it in for him, or he travelled to Edinburgh and then came down again to London two months later (he was back again in Edinburgh by June).²⁵

His brother John, who died in Italy, had stayed in London for about six months on his way from Scotland in 1767, and would thus have made contacts there which More may have renewed.²⁶

Any other connections More made in London can only be a matter of conjecture, but the London art world was a small and relatively intimate society, and the most likely contacts are worth noting. In 1765 the Society of Artists included George Lambert, George Barret, Paul Sandby, and Richard Wilson among its directors; members included Alexander Cozens, James Durno, F^rington, Marchant, Marlow, Steuart, and Gainsborough.²⁷ The next list of the Society was compiled in 1772 or 1773, and included Jacob More and Thomas Jones among the new members.²⁸ It is therefore likely that More knew most of these artists, however slightly.

More's artistic experience in London, even if more a matter of observation than creation, was probably highly important; the influences of de Louthembourg and Wilson are evident in his later landscapes, and the recommendations he received from Reynolds led to commissions and introductions which probably did much to gain him the great popularity he enjoyed in later years.

CHAPTER FOUR

ROME: THE EARLY YEARS, c.1773-1780.

a. Introduction: British Artists in Rome

Jacob More arrived in Rome at a time when the city was a thriving centre of international artistic activity. During the late eighteenth century several hundred artists of various nationalities were working in Rome; the exaggerated estimates of the foreign population (Lady Knight, for instance, reported in 1778 that 'in this city eight thousand artists from different nations are constantly employed')¹ suggest the importance the colony held in the artistic life of Europe. The exact figures are not recorded, but the numbers of 'Heretics, Turks and other Infidels not including Hebrews' resident in Rome were published every year in the Notizie per l'anno: from 1773 to 1793 there were between a hundred and a hundred and fifty people listed in this category (these figures not including short-term residents and Grand Tourists).² The largest group of artists were the British, followed by the French, Germans and Danes. Most came for a few years study though, like More, many stayed for the rest of their lives. Baretti voiced the defensive attitude of many of his countrymen when he claimed in 1769 that the British had no school 'which you can yet properly call your own ... You must still submit yourselves to the direction of Italian masters'³ though the 'masters' concerned were not generally modern Italian artists, but rather the Antique, the Renaissance, and the landscape of Italy.

The status of the British (both Protestants and Catholics) was

extremely high, in spite of the political embarrassment of the exiled Stuart court, which was protected and financially supported by the Pope.⁴ The tolerant attitudes stemmed from both cultural admiration and Italian financial profit, and the fact that British foreign policy and the Protestant religion posed little threat to Rome. Due to the political situation there was no British ambassador, yet the colony 'felt no want of one'⁵ as the leading bankers, agents and noblemen fulfilled this role until 1792.⁶ The extreme papal tolerance is well demonstrated by comparing the lot of the Protestants (who as heretics, were refused burial within the walls of Rome) with that of the Jesuits, the feared reformers of the Catholic church. Father Thorpe, a Jesuit priest, reported in 1777 that the Pope had seized the property of the Jesuits in Rome and had hung their paintings in his own rooms in the Vatican - 'No regard is here had for Catholics; the Protestants are first in favour'.⁷ The Popes of this period were particularly interested in the Arts: Clement XIV gave a conducted tour of the Vatican to a group of British visitors in 1772,⁸ and Pius VI showed his new art purchases to another group in 1788.⁹ This favourable attitude towards the British was found not only among Italians, but all the cultured elements of European society. British literature was widely translated, the Italians being particularly interested in the poetry of Gray, Thomson, and in Macpherson's Ossian.¹⁰ Goethe, an admirer of Jacob More, was both an Ossian enthusiast and an Anglophile; during his Italian stay in the 1780s he noted in his journal 'When I was a young man, I sometimes indulged in a daydream of being accompanied to Italy by an educated Englishman'.¹¹

Most of the British residents in Rome lived in the area of the

Piazza di Spagna, 'a priveleged place, under the protection of the Spanish ambassador ... whither the Stirzi dare not pursue a criminal'.¹² There were several British hotels in the Piazza (which was the most central part of Rome which the huge British coaches could reach when arriving from the usual northern route). It was the hub of the artists' social life, and it was here that the English Coffee House, over which More had his lodgings and studio, was situated. More is first recorded there in the extant annual parish census of San Lorenzo in Lucina, 1773 (now in the Vicariato of Rome), listed as 'Mr. Mor^e. Pitt^e.' living in the Piazza di Spagna; he was listed at this address until 1787.¹³ From 1790 to 1793 he was similarly recorded in Strada Rasella, not far away in the Parish of S.Nicola in Archione.¹⁴ James Northcote visited him in his rooms at the Coffee House in 1777,¹⁵ and Henry Herbert noted that he had a 'Study over the English Coffee House' in 1779.¹⁶ A list of artists resident in Rome in 1790, from Farington's Diary, includes More, whose address is given as 'Strada Rosella'.¹⁷

The Coffee House was the central meeting place of the British in Rome, and it was also used as the Poste Restante (other nationalities in Rome had their own Post Offices, but the British, not being officially represented in the city, did not).¹⁸ It was an institution of some character: the walls were decorated with Egyptian designs by Piranesi in the 1760s,¹⁹ and it had a reputation for lively evenings and heavy drinking.²⁰ Artists of other nationalities often gathered there too - Canova, for example, was a frequent visitor.²¹ Richard Wilson had stayed in the Piazza di Spagna in the 1750s, and may also have lived above the Coffee House, for he inscribed a book of sketches with this address.²² More was thus at the heart of the artists' social life, and

also of its competition: Flaxman wrote in a letter of 1788 that

'I never go to the English Coffee House, this place is the rendezvous of the Artists, here is always some party, some disagreement & the flame is continually kept up, when winter comes & the people of Quality come here, they are then ready to tear each other in pieces for business'. 23

b. The Early Italian Landscape Paintings

Little is known of More's early life in Rome, though Farington's statement that he 'passed the three first years of His residence in Italy without painting anything, being entirely occupied in collecting matter for study, and subjects for painting' is certainly untrue.¹ The first recorded paintings of his Roman period were those noted by Father John Thorpe in a letter to Lord Arundell in March 1774, in which Thorpe reported that a Scottish artist called 'Moor' was at work on 'the burning of Troy' and the 'universal deluge'.² Neither of these two paintings is now known, but More produced several later versions of both titles. In 1775 More sent four landscapes to the Society of Artists exhibition in London - two versions of A Landscape, a storm, with a view of the Lake of Albani, A Landscape; a calm, with a Bridge, on the Road to Tivoli, and A Landscape, a Sunset, with a distant View of Rome (nos.174-177). Although all three have long been presumed lost, two paintings which recently appeared in London salerooms, attributed to other hands, are possibly works of this group.

The first, which may be one of the two storm scenes exhibited, is a Shepherdess with her Flock sheltering from a Storm (oil on canvas, 76.2 x 97.8cm, Sotheby 1979, Plate 23 and detail Plate 58), from the

collection of the Earl of Rosslyn; it was sold as a work of George Arnald, though it does not have the broad, loose handling of that artist.³ It is painted in very striking colours - darker than the Scottish landscapes, and with more dramatic lighting, particularly in the pinky gleam of sunlight through the clouds and the pink shaft of lightning. As has already been suggested in the catalogue of the Gaspard Dughet exhibition (Kenwood, 1980), it takes much from the compositions of Dughet, though the borrowing of design is perhaps less direct than the catalogue entry would suggest, and reflects a general influence of style rather than a copy of one engraving.⁴ The other major influence on the style of this painting is the Italian landscapes of Richard Wilson, whom More had known in London (see p.86). The browns and blues of the hills and foreground, and the application of quite broad, flat areas of paint, are noticeable in contrast to More's Scottish landscapes; several other landscapes to be discussed, painted between 1780 and 1784, show equally strong influences of this artist. In this painting More had already developed the basic formula of composition which he retained throughout his career: mountains in the background, rocks surmounted by buildings in the middle distance, a lake or river, trees in the foreground right or left nearly reaching to the top of the canvas, and a foreground figure or figures - all these elements are repeated over and over again in his landscapes. There is a weakness in the empty central area which becomes more noticeable in later works, though the colours become progressively more dramatic to compensate for this lack of movement and subject-matter.

The second painting recently identified as by More is the Distant

View of Rome (oil on canvas, 77.3 x 105.8cm, Art Gallery of South Australia, Adelaide, Plate 24) which came up for sale in 1978,⁶ and which may be A Landscape: a Sunset, with a distant View of Rome exhibited in 1775. The painting shows the walls of Rome, blocked in very schematically with little attention to detail, with the Tiber flowing across the foreground and fishermen at work on the banks and in boats. The dome of St. Peters and the outline of the Castel Sant' Angelo can be seen beyond the walls, and in the background right are hills with farmhouses. The predominant colours are blue and green; More had not yet developed the extremely pink hues of his later sunset pieces. The painting was attributed when sold to Thomas Daniell (1749-1840), though Daniell's style is very different: he worked in a very detailed and precise manner, with accurate topographical detail and less atmospheric colour harmonies - and although he travelled widely, he did not visit Rome.⁷ This painting may be one or both of two works noted by Seguer in his lists of sales: the first, entitled A View near Rome, was sold from the Henry Hope collection in 1816, and the second, A View of the ancient Walls of Rome, (possibly a watercolour) was sold in 1830.⁸ A sketch in the National Gallery of Scotland, River Landscape and Towered Bridge with Figures (NGS RSA 501, Plate 51), may be a study for one of the other paintings exhibited in 1775, A Landscape; a Calm, with a Bridge, on the Road to Tivoli (discussed p.146).

The next recorded paintings are mentioned in two letters from More, now in the British Library, to George Loch of Drylaw and his brother-in-law James Loch of Hermanshiels. In the first letter, of October 1776, he wrote to George Loch:

'I have finished two of your pictures and the other two are well advanced ... the names of the places from whence they are taken shall be marked on the back of each. I have left of finishing the two last for a few weeks, as you know the necessity there is of having a large picture to show for the winter, which I am at present about. It is a view near Ponté Molé A Morning, it comes very clear and I hope it will do me credit'. 9

In March the following year he sent a brief note to James Loch, as a bill or receipt:

'I had the honour of a commission to paint four small landskips for Mr George Loch your brother at £5 each'. 10

More provided other paintings for George Loch at a later date: James Nevay, another Scottish artist in Rome wrote to a Mr. Loch in 1785, stating that he had sent off 'Two Cases, one containing Mr. More's pictures'.¹¹ None of these paintings has been traced, but evidence of a personal connection between More and George Loch can be found in the parish census of S.Lorenzo in Lucina for 1777, where 'Monstu More' is listed as living with 'Monstu Loch'.¹² George Loch (1749-1788), who succeeded to the Drylaw estate in 1759, lived abroad for long periods, amassing a collection of coins, books and engravings, all of which are now lost; James Loch of Herdmanshiels, his brother-in-law, looked after his property during his travels.¹³ George and his father William Loch were listed in Williamson's Edinburgh Directory in 1774 as 'writers' in Edinburgh, and James Loch became a Writer to the Signet.¹⁴

The 'large picture ... a view near Ponté Molé A Morning' which

More mentioned in the letter to George Loch may have been the picture subsequently acquired by the Scottish dealer James Byres, listed in Byres' inventory of his house in the Strada Paolina, Rome, in 1790; entered as View of the Ponte Molle, it hung in the drawing room.¹⁵

Only one painting is recorded from 1777, and that was probably painted the previous year - The View of Lake Nemi, anciently called Speculum Dianae, near Rome; evening, exhibited at the Society of Artists in London (no.81). Four paintings are recorded from 1779, two being the earliest known commissions for More's chief patron Lord Bristol, the Earl-Bishop of Derry. Young Henry Herbert visited More's studio in September and

'saw some Views in the Neighbourhood of Rome, two of which were for the Bishop of Derry, the other two for a Mr. Mills. The two I liked best were a view of the Lake of Albano with Castel Gandolfo, and a view of the Caduta della Marmore near Terni'.¹⁶

There is an undated and hitherto doubtfully attributed painting in the Dundee City Art Gallery, presented to the Gallery in 1912 as a work of Richard Wilson, though it was almost certainly painted at around this time by Jacob More. Entitled The Good Samaritan (oil on canvas, 98.4 x 137.1cm),¹⁷ it shows a landscape with cliffs and a waterfall to the left, overhanging a winding road through trees, with a distant landscape beyond, and a wood to the right. The wounded man, the Samaritan and the disappearing Levite are extremely small and almost identical to the subject of the landscape. The whole painting shows ^{the} strong influence of Richard Wilson, and it is painted in the blue-green tones and golden light typical of his palette. It could

thus belong to More's London period, though the angled slab of rock above the waterfall and the pointed rock in the pool at the bottom of the waterfall are motifs which are found in the other Italian landscapes,¹⁸ but not in the Scottish ones. The extremely free handling of the foliage is very much like that of the earlier stage sets, particularly Figures outside a cave (Plate 13). The painting is now very dirty and in bad repair, and the colouring seems extremely dull for More's general style, but the original appearance of the brilliant blue sky can be seen in the cracks at the top of the painting.

These paintings show More in a transitional style: the subject-matter and design of his paintings varied little during his career, but the use of colour and the scale of his works changed dramatically. These canvasses, of his smaller and medium size, show a heavier, broader application of paint than the Scottish works, and a much richer lighting, probably due to the influence of Richard Wilson. But the dramatic pink highlights of the Shepherdess, and the wider views of the Distant View of Rome and The Good Samaritan, anticipate More's increasingly idiosyncratic treatment of landscapes at their most colourful and theatrical.

c. More as Draughtsman to Allan Ramsay

In 1777 More took on a completely different type of employment, acting as a draughtsman to Allan Ramsay, who was preparing his publication on Horace's Sabine Villa near Licenza: More's work for Ramsay has already been documented by James Holloway in his article 'Two Projects to Illustrate Allan Ramsay's Treatise on Horace's

Sabine Villa' (1976)¹ and only a brief outline and new additional information will be noted in this study.

Ramsay's preparation for his book, dealing with the location of Horace's Sabine Villa and Horace's own writing about it, occupied him on and off from the 1750s until his death in 1784. It never saw publication, but a draft manuscript entitled 'An Enquiry into the Situation and Circumstances of Horace's Sabine Villa' is now in the National Library of Scotland,² and most of the numerous sketches made by More for the illustrations have been listed by James Holloway.

The professional connection between More and Ramsay demonstrates Ramsay's high estimation of More's abilities, and it would be logical to assume, from their working together in Italy, that they had known each other quite well before More had left Britain. More travelled with Ramsay's party around the Licenza area, drawing on the spot, but perhaps also working up the sketches later in his studio - some of the colour schemes seem slightly too complex to have been executed in one sitting, since watercolour needs to dry completely between layers of application. The colours are the same limpid pale greens, yellows and ochres which More had used in his Edinburgh sketches, though most of them are considerably larger: a typical example is the View of Horace's Villa (36.1 x 50.3cm, coll. James Holloway, Plate 25), the mount (?)signed 'Jacob More, Rome, 1778' and inscribed 'Vieu of Horac's Villa taken near the Mill of Licenza'.³

On Ramsay's next visit to Italy of 1782-4, More no longer accompanied him on his researches, though he may have worked up some

of Ramsay's own sketches.⁴ There are two possible reasons for this: firstly, More was by this time highly successful as a landscape painter, and no longer needed (or perhaps wanted) to work in this capacity, particularly if he suspected that the project was never to reach publication; secondly, Ramsay had probably realised that More's gentle, atmospheric interpretations of landscape lacked the precision and accuracy of topographical detail necessary for producing good book illustrations. By this time, too, More's 'rival' in landscape painting in Rome, Philipp Hackert (see pp.178-80), whose controlled, detailed delineation of landscape was admirably suited to engraving, had produced his own views of the area. Ramsay, probably considering them for publication, consulted Hackert on this visit. John Ramsay, Allan Ramsay's son, noted in his Diary, 12 February 1783, 'Mr Hackert who showd us several of the drawings he had made near Horace's Villa, of all which he was making prints ...[to which] ... my father (see Plate Q).⁵ subscrib'd' A Ramsay and his son still maintained a close personal friendship with More, however.⁶

James Holloway did not comment in his article on More's interpretations of the actual scene. Subsequent research has proved More's watercolours to be extremely faithful renderings of the appearance of the Licenza Valley; the strangely pale, rounded hills with their patterns of olive orchards are no eccentricities of colour or design on the part of the artist, and the topographical elements, though apparently casual, are reasonably accurate (see Plate 26). It is interesting to note, however, that recent archaeological studies have cast doubt on the long-accepted authenticity of the site (though it is still accepted by the Italian government, who now care for it).⁷

There is no evidence around the remaining walls of the Villa of any of the agricultural buildings or equipment that Horace mentions in his writings, and the hillside is too precipitous to support the farming which he describes; the ruined walls, about two feet high, are certainly those of a Roman Villa, but there would now seem to be no reason for accepting the traditional attribution of original ownership.⁸

More's early years in Rome were certainly busy. His style, in a transitional phase between the Scottish landscapes and the much-acclaimed mature works of the mid-1780s, demonstrates an experimental approach to colour while retaining orthodox design and subject-matter. The professional contacts More built up in London and Rome during the 1770s, particularly with Reynolds, Wilson and Ramsay, brought him to the notice of the Grand Tourists for whom he produced so many commissions in the following decade, and he was now set on the path of critical and commercial success which he enjoyed until his death.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE ITALIAN LANDSCAPE PAINTINGS, 1780-1793

More's Italian landscape paintings, which brought him international fame by the mid-1780s, show a steady development in style, though little change in theme and design. They are of increasingly greater scale, brilliance of colour, and drama of atmosphere; the predominantly blue-green hues of the earlier period give way to glowing pinks and oranges; the influence of northern artists becomes less noticeable, while that of Claude, Dughet and other Italian painters becomes more apparent.

Few of More's paintings are dated, but those that are provide a clear indication of these changes. The dated works discussed in Section a. are a painting of 1780 (in the largest of More's three standard sizes), one of 1784 (medium), a pair of 1785 (large), a pair of 1786 (medium), one of 1787 (small), a pair of 1790 (large), and one of 1791 (medium). Lost paintings of similar landscape themes are discussed in relation to the extant works: extant but undated landscapes, including several traced in the course of this study, are placed as near as possible to their probable date of execution. The landscape subjects of which no examples are now known - Moonlight, Tempests, and Deluges - are discussed in section b. (the specialised genres of waterfall and volcano paintings are dealt with separately in Chapters Six and Seven). Section c. deals with the watercolours, drawings and engravings, including copies of More's work by other artists. His theories, the influences on his style, his techniques and the marketing of his work are discussed in section d; his

relationship with other artists in Rome, and possible influence on them are discussed in section e.

a. Oil Paintings

Landscape with Classical Figures, of 1780, also known as Waterfall and Rushing River, is one of the many works More painted for Lord Bristol, though it is now the only one remaining in the family collection, at Ickworth.¹ It is an example of the largest of the three sizes in which More generally worked (142 x 198cm) and is signed and dated 'Jacob More, Rome, 1780' (Plate 27). There is also a watercolour of a similar scene which appeared in the salerooms recently, entitled Cicero's Villa (watercolour over ink, 35 x 50cm, sold Martyn Gregory, 1977, Plate 28).²

The painting shows a wide, swiftly-running river, with a shallow weir and bridge to the right, and a wood beyond. In the distance is a large palace or villa, and in the background are green hills and dazzling snowcapped mountains. A hermit or shepherd, almost hidden in shadow, sits in contemplation under the trees on the further bank to the left of the painting; in the right foreground, beneath a group of tall trees, are three men in classical costume. There is little remarkable in the design, but the delicacy of handling and the harmony of the colours are extremely impressive. The predominant colours are soft greens, blues and ochres, not very far removed in tone from the Scottish waterfall paintings (and significantly more similar to them than the Shepherdess of 1775), but there is a much more detailed gradation of colour with a greater use of white in all

areas of the canvas, and few strong tonal contrasts. The landscape seems almost drained of colour, in a cool, early morning light. Some pink and orange touches brighten up the distant mountains, an effect which More was to develop in many of his later compositions. This gentle, distant glow forms a distinct contrast to the shaded foreground in which the three figures are lit dramatically by a shaft of light through the trees. As in many of More's paintings, the foreground figures seem to have been added to an already-finished landscape, though they are in fact included in the watercolour sketch as well. They are stiff and wooden, a contrast to the hastily-painted figures of the shepherd and the man on the bridge beyond, though they do possess a certain amount of statuesque dignity. The general character of the scene is decorative rather than naturalistic - this forms the greatest contrast with the earlier Scottish landscapes. More is interested in the patterned effect of the light playing on the trees, highlighting the shapes of the branches in the foreground; he is also fascinated by the textures of the delicate, feathery foliage, the misty foam from the river, and the hard, sparkling mountains. But as in the Shepherdess, the central area of the painting is empty of any focal point, and the figures are too small and detached from the main subject to give a unity of human interest to the painting. It is the light which holds the composition together, with the misty haze enveloping the scene. The watercolour version of the composition (about a quarter of the size of the oil), is very different in style. It is painted in cool blues and greens, but shows a firmness of touch and an energetic haste of execution which is in marked contrast to the restraint and delicacy of the oil version. The bridge, palace and figures take up a greater part of the

design, but there is little detail of foliage or water; the figures are alert and animated, lacking the statuesque dignity of those in the oil painting, and they dominate the composition both physically and as a focus of interest. The foliage is dabbed in carelessly, and there is no interest in the tonal or textural contrasts.

The general composition of both the watercolour and the oil bear great resemblance to the several versions of Cicero and his Friends by Richard Wilson; Wilson's paintings show three figures in the foreground in classical costume, a river with an inlet opposite, a bridge to the right, and a distant villa and hills.³ The proportions and details of the compositions of the two artists are so different, however, that it would seem most likely that More had repeated Wilson's basic composition from memory. One of the Cicero paintings by Wilson had been exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1770 (no.201) and it was subsequently engraved by Woollett; More could have known both the original and the engraving.⁴ More's Landscape does not seem to have been exhibited.⁵ It may have been one of the paintings which Herbert saw in his studio in September 1779, two of which were for Lord Bristol, and it was also perhaps that noted by Canova in 1780 as 'the villa of Cicero in Naples'.⁶ The same painting, or another version of the same subject, was in More's studio when John Ramsay visited in 1783 - 'his picture of Cicero's villa which was very well painted'.⁷

Various other artists produced Cicero paintings in the eighteenth century. The general features of the landscapes were those of the Frascati area, though the exact location of the Villa was disputed.⁸ It is interesting to compare More's oil painting with another Landscape

hanging in the same collection, painted in the same year by Philipp Hackert (oil on canvas, 166 x 218cm, s. & d.' J.A.P.R.Hackert pinxit Plate R), Roma 1780', which is inspired by similar elements to those which inspired More's composition, though it is slightly larger, and viewed from a different angle.⁹ The character of the two paintings is completely different, however; Hackert's landscape has hard, clear outlines, precise detail and bright colours but little atmosphere, and there is a great deal of incidental movement in the figures in the foreground (washerwomen) and on the river. Hackert simply grouped all the elements together as a catalogue of Italianate features, adding the 'Sibyl's Temple' of Tivoli as a symbol of the country, while More used the sweeping curves of the river, the angled mountain peaks, and the patterned interlacing of the trees for their abstract beauty, creating a harmonious effect with the misty light as the unifying factor.

Although the Composition with Classical Figures is the only extant dated painting of 1780, More was extremely busy with commissions during this year. Canova saw 'a large quantity of pictures' in his studio in March,¹⁰ and named five finished paintings on another visit in June - scenes of Vesuvius, the Deluge, the Falls of Terni, Macaenas's Villa at Tivoli, and Cicero's Villa.¹¹ By 1781 More had become an established and successful artist. The dealer James Irvine noted Reynolds's admiration for More's work in a letter to George Cumberland in February 1781 (quoted p.9) and went on to describe More's commissions for Lord Bristol and the Pope:

'One thing I like in More is an originality in his ideas. - He is painting the elements for the Bishop of Derry - Fire he has represented by Vesuvius, Water by the flood & intends I believe a Land Storm for Air & a fine serene landscape for Earth ... From a housepainter in Edinburgh More is become one of the first landscape painters that ever lived. The Pope has employed him to paint a picture which is rather uncommon'. 12

There is no trace of the painting commissioned by the Pope, and no other extant references to it, though More became a member of the Accademia di San Luca the same year, which may have prompted the Pope's interest in him.¹³ There are several other references to the Four Elements series, of which he painted at least two sets; he was working on another for Lord Cowper in 1784.¹⁴

Two extant paintings by More, hitherto unnoted but traced in the course of this study, would seem to belong to the period 1782-4. They are a pair of landscapes, oil on canvas (both 94 x 132cm), still in their original heavy gilt frames, in the Langford-Brooke collection at Mere Hall, Cheshire.¹⁵ Neither is signed or dated, and nothing is known of their history, but research on the family and their travels abroad would indicate that they were commissioned in Italy; Jonas Langford-Brooke was in Italy on his Grand Tour in the early 1780s, and his tutor Dr. Parkinson kept manuscript Journals of the trip, which cover the years 1783-4.¹⁶ In a letter of early 1784, Parkinson recommended Langford-Brooke to visit various artists in Rome, including Jacob More who, like several others, would 'do any Subject One bespeaks', and he added that in More's studio 'you will see the Elements or at least

two of them done in a very high Stile'.¹⁷ Jonas died in 1784, and in January 1785 More referred in a letter to 'one Mr Brook a Young Gentleman who latly died'.¹⁸ The subjects of the paintings are a Distant View of Rome and a View of Tivoli (Plates 29 and 30); they are smaller in scale than the Landscape of 1780, far less sophisticated or original in their colouring and subject matter, and they show a strong influence of the style of Richard Wilson.

The Distant View of Rome shows the city of Rome in the background, with the dome of St. Peter's visible to the right. In the middle distance is the sweeping plain of the Campagna and a hill to the right, surmounted by a villa; in the foreground five peasant figures with musical instruments sit among stone-pines, with Roman ruins in the immediate left foreground. The View of Tivoli shows the Villa of Maecenas and one of the Tivoli falls to the left, with hills and then the plains of the Campagna stretching away into the distance. Some figures are sitting in the foreground, one sketching the scene. The two paintings are extremely interesting as examples of a transitional style: they have the same brownish colouring as the Shepherdess, and they are both nearer Wilson's type of composition than the Landscape of 1780, but they have the delicacy of handling and the lightness of touch that is characteristic of More's Scottish period and the 1780 Landscape. The feature of composition most reminiscent of Wilson is the group of figures with the parasol in View of Tivoli, a common motif in several of Wilson's paintings, such as the various versions of Wilton House and The White Monk.¹⁹ The figures are also larger than is typical of More's work - yet the paint is applied in a characteristically hasty manner with a light, fluid touch. In the

Tivoli painting there is the same misty haze of More's other waterfall scenes, and the golden glow in the Roman view is certainly not influenced by Wilson. The handling of the rocks is a feature which is particularly idiosyncratic to More's work. In the View of Tivoli the large slabs of rock to the left, and the waterfall with its misty spray rising from behind the boulders at the bottom of the Fall, are elements which are repeated in both shape and style in many paintings. (see p.196). Although neither painting is very carefully finished, the artist has found it difficult to resist making patterns with the branches of the trees, another typical feature of his mature style. The lack of finish in these works, compared to others of the 1780s, would suggest that More produced them for sale rather than on commission - unless he was producing cheap paintings for a young patron whom he knew to have a very limited knowledge of art. More's reference to Langford-Brooke in a letter to his patron Thomas Harvey in 1785 would suggest that he also commissioned two further paintings:

More

'had a Commission to paint two Picturs of my 1st Size for one Mr Brook a Young Gentleman who latly died. I have receivd a letter from his relations Countermanding the Order one of these Picturs is begun, if it would Suit You I could have it finish'd by this time 12 months'. 20

In a later draft letter of 1787 to Harvey's friend, Patteson, More mentioned having sent Harvey the 'Large Picture ... begun some time ago for A Gentleman who died'.²¹

More was busy with other paintings during this period. In 1783 he presented his Self-Portrait to the Uffizi Gallery (see pp.230-7) and he exhibited views of Tivoli and Terni at the Royal Academy the

same year. He also painted views for Philip Yorke: the dealer James Byres wrote to Yorke on 14 February 1784, informing him that landscapes he had commissioned from More were finished and that they would be dispatched shortly.²²

The only extant painting from 1784 is the Tiber Estuary, signed and dated 'Jacob More, Rome, 1784', in the collection of St. Catherine's College, Cambridge (oil on canvas, 99 x 140cm, Plate 31).²³ This may be the painting entitled Landscape - a composition which was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1785 (no.109). It is one of the first of the later group of landscapes in which More was heavily influenced by Claudian models, yet continued to develop his own brilliant and novel range of colouring. It has certain elements in common with earlier paintings such as the 1780 Landscape, though it is much smaller (about the same size as the Langford-Brooke pair) and the design is simpler. It shows the Tiber flowing through a richly-wooded foreground, with a plain and distant mountains beyond. Both sides of the foreground are bordered with decorative reddish-brown oaks; a round temple (perhaps modelled on the 'Sibyl's Temple' at Tivoli) with other buildings overlooks the river in the middle distance. There are two women in local costume in the foreground, one busy with her washing and the other on a donkey, and a small figure tends a fire on a bank in the middle distance. The sky occupies a greater area of the canvas than in earlier landscapes, a tendency which was to increase in later compositions; this serves to emphasize the vastness of the plain beyond, and it gives the artist full scope to express the true subject of the painting, which is the colour. The blues and greens of earlier landscapes have now given way to russet browns, pinks and yellows, and

the whole canvas is suffused with a misty, golden light. The atmosphere is calm and serene; nothing moves, and no wind disturbs the trees or the smoke from the fire, which drifts gently upwards. Even the river flows so sluggishly that only a few golden ripples appear on its surface. More's debt to Claude in the colour and design of this composition has already been recognised in its inclusion in a Claude exhibition of 1969; no one specific painting of Claude's served as a direct model for More's work, the influence being in the general character of the scene. But More's light and colour are very much his own - the pinky distances, natural at rare moments in nature and therefore not wholly artificial, are not to be found in Claude or Dughet, though scenes of more violent aspects of nature by de Louthembourg have similarly brilliant tones and glowing light effects.²⁴

By 1785 More was at the height of his popularity. His work had received two enthusiastic reviews in a Roman art journal of 1784, and there were four more in 1785, three in 1786 and three in 1787.²⁵ More did not exhibit at the Society of Artists in London after 1777, but he showed paintings annually at the Royal Academy from 1783 until 1789 (except for 1787). In January 1785 he wrote to his patron Thomas Harvey

'As I have had the good fortune to meet with much encouragement, I am under the necessity of beging two years before I could begin it [a painting] owing to the work I have in hands'. 26

The popularity which his glowing Italian landscapes enjoyed unfortunately led him to produce increasingly large and colourful canvases with an

accompanying lack of form and content - not all of his paintings after this date were of poorer quality, but it is from about this time that the more commercial works, extremely popular when first produced but of less lasting quality, began to appear. The two honours awarded to him in Italy - Academician status of the Accademia di San Luca in 1781, and the acceptance of his Self-Portrait by the Uffizi Gallery in 1783, may well have contributed to a tendency to rely on his past achievements.²⁷

Two paintings which well exemplify this change of direction are the large canvases of Morning and Evening now in Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum, Kelvingrove.²⁸ Both signed and dated 'Jacob More, Roma, 1785' they are still in their original gilt frames; they are examples of the largest of the three sizes in which More worked from the early 1780s, and of similar proportions to the 1780 Landscape (^{both are} 152 x 203cm, Plates 32,33,34 and 35). Their provenance can only be traced back to a Christie's sale of 1886,²⁹ but a full review of both paintings, published upon their completion in March 1785, has been traced in the course of this research. The writer of the article, in Memorie per le belle Arti (transcribed Appendix C.5) states that they were commissioned by Lord Breadalbane (lines 25-5 - Lord Breadalbane also purchased some Old Master paintings from More, see p.275). As a pair, the paintings hang most naturally with the Evening on the left, and the Morning on the right: in this position, the tall trees at the edges frame rather than divide the two compositions, and the procession in Morning moves towards Evening rather than away from it. The critic reviewed Evening first, which would suggest that this is the order in which they were painted; Evening is certainly the fuller

and more unified composition of the two. The basic elements of both paintings follow the formulae of earlier Italian landscapes. They show two slowly flowing rivers, with wide plains and mountains beyond, temples in the middle distance, and figures near trees in the foregrounds. The contrast between the two subjects is demonstrated entirely by colour: Evening is suffused with a warm, misty, pinky-yellow glow, while Morning is executed in fresh, pastel, blue-green tones, reminiscent of the 1780 Landscape.

In Evening, a river meanders across a plain to a calm sea; a palace or villa stands on a rock overlooking the river in the middle distance, and another smaller circular temple stands nearer, to the left of the composition, on the further bank of the river. A religious procession crosses the bridge into this temple, where smoke rises from an altar. In the foreground, a group of figures approaches the seated priest, bearing offerings and leading a pig, presumably for sacrifice. Under the trees in the left foreground three reapers complete the harvest. The pinks and oranges of this canvas are quite brilliant, and though the total effect seems almost too strong (particularly when the canvas is hung with other contemporary works with more subdued colour-schemes) the delicacy of handling shows great skill, and it is a superlative essay in colour technique. As a composition, it is not a great success: the colour dominates to such an extent that it detracts attention from the subject, and the design, as in so many of More's paintings, leaves the canvas empty of a central point of interest - the different elements of the composition are linked through the medium of light and colour alone. Like its companion, Morning, it must be seen from some distance if the strength of the colours is not to

overpower the viewer. The composition is made up of what are now stock ingredients, the only new addition being the reapers and the procession; the figures are reminiscent of those in Poussin's Summer, one of the four Seasons series, of which More may have known engravings.³⁰

The second painting, Morning, shows a similar river meandering across a plain from distant snowcapped mountains. On the left bank in the middle distance stands a large temple with an altar, and in the foreground a procession of Flora, drawn in her chariot by winged minions, a 'putto' with a garland of flowers hovering above. There are several incidental details - cows, two figures reposing on the further bank, and a hermit in deep shadow in the extreme right foreground - but these do not play a significant part in the composition, which seems extremely empty. The colours are predominantly pastel shades of blue and green, the clear blue sky becoming white as it meets the outline of the mountain. The basic elements of the composition are very typical of other landscapes by More, though the procession may have been taken from other models, such as a print of Poussin's Triumph of Flora.³¹ The most interesting feature in this painting is the temple: More rarely delineated architectural features in any detail, yet the temple shown here is carefully defined, and unlike those in other works. It would seem to be a simplified version of the small temple built around this time in the Villa Borghese, Rome, by More's colleague Mario Asprucci; it served as the centrepiece of More's lake in the English Garden which he laid out in the Villa soon afterwards (see Plates 85 and 86, discussed pp.251-2).

The enthusiastic reviewer of Memorie per le belle Arti described the paintings in some detail, praising in particular the use of aerial perspective, a technique which Italian artists, even Leonardo da Vinci 'who demonstrated in his writings that he understood it, neglected in his paintings' (lines 6-10). Claude, Dughet and Rosa reached the highest standard in this aspect of painting and the level 'has not sunk in our century' (lines 19-20), one of the best examples of the present being 'Jacob More d'Edimburgo' (line 23). He also noted, rather surprisingly, the realism of More's trees (lines 50-52), and concluded that

'the air, the river, the plants, the sea, in fact everything is painted with harmony, and great unity, and we are rendered unable to decide to which of these two canvasses we should accord the palm' (lines 52-5).

Neither of these paintings was exhibited in London, and they may have remained in More's studio for some time before being taken to Britain: when Goethe visited the studio in 1787 he saw two 'excellent pictures of his, a Morning and a Night', possibly the same pair.³²

It is interesting to note that More's chief rival in landscape painting in Rome during this period, Philipp Hackert,³³ seems to have copied More's Morning. In the Witt collection there is a photograph of a painting 'From a Russian Museum' sold by Van Deimen, Berlin, in 1933, entitled Landscape with River, signed and dated 'Ph.Hackert/pinx: 1786'. The basic composition of the river, plain and mountains is the same as More's, and there is a temple on the further bank in the middle distance (though this is a detailed and precisely painted view of the Temple of Paestum). Only the figures are distinctly different in

concept: under the tall trees in the right foreground sit three rustic figures with goats and cattle nearby, in place of More's procession of Flora. The painting may have been commissioned for immediate export to Russia, and Hackert could therefore have produced it without More's knowledge.

The next extant, dated paintings, also a pair, are two ovals, the Rape of Deianera and Rest on the Flight. Both are painted in oil on board, and the first is signed and dated 'Jacob More, Rome, 1786'; they are similar in size to the pair of 1783 (100.4 x 137cm) and are now in a private British collection (Plates 36 and 37).³⁴ They were probably commissioned works, as they are the only known examples of More's work on board supports; they were not exhibited, and the style and subject matter of the two very different compositions could suggest that More did not select the themes himself. It is even possible that they were two separate commissions, later put together to form a pair, though the Rest on the Flight would appear to have been painted at about the same date as the Deianera.

The dated painting depicts the myth of Deianera: the Goddess is being carried across the river by the centaur Nessus in the foreground, just as he is about to be shot by Heracles from the further bank. A small tower overlooks the river in the middle distance, with a large temple standing behind. Mountains rise up in the background right, while a calm sea lies to the left; a path leads off into the foreground left. The river is not the placid, meandering one of the

paintings of the previous few years, but is fast-flowing with two small, stylised waterfalls. There is little detail, and the simple, doll-like figures and schematic rendering of foliage would suggest that the composition was painted with little interest or attention to detailed finish - the trees are particularly poor in comparison with ^{those in} earlier works, being heavy, formless and repetitive. The colours are of light, pastel shades, except for some darker foliage in the foreground, and they have been selected with little regard for harmony; the mountains are lilac rather than pink, and the orange passages clash badly with this; the opinion of Mr. Brinsley Ford (on seeing the painting in a sale in the early 1960s) that it was 'altogether a very feeble performance' is unfortunately only too accurate an observation.

The Rest on the Flight is very different in both design and handling. The Holy Family are seated in the foreground, with Joseph in Arab costume; there is a pyramid in the far distance, and a palm tree in the right foreground, but apart from these elements the landscape is wholly Italian - there is an aqueduct in the distance, and a sarcophagus in the trees to the left. The design of the trees is typical of More's style of this period, but painted in strident greens and browns, and the foliage in the foreground is treated with unusual attention to detail. The composition seems to be heavily influenced by Claude's ^{The} Rest on the Flight which hangs today, as it did in More's time, in the Doria-Pamphilj Gallery in Rome.³⁵ Claude's version is of a similar size (though not oval) and shows the Holy Family seated in the foreground right, with a river, bridge and palm tree. As in More's painting, Joseph is bearded, and his face is very similar. The

foliage is unusually detailed for Claude, and More's trees and foreground plants may reflect this example.

There is a second version of The Rest on the Flight attributed to More: it is an extremely small canvas (39 x 53 cm, sold Christie 1965, private British collection, Plate 59),³⁶ showing the Holy Family travelling through a richly wooded landscape. The handling is tight, delicate and precise, the trees feathery yet not individually defined, and it would not appear to be from More's hand; but the colours, predominantly pale greens and blues, have a brilliant, glowing tone that is reminiscent of More's work. The general technique is most similar to that of Alexander Nasmyth, and it could possibly have been painted by Nasmyth when he was studying in Rome from 1782 to 1784 (Nasmyth is discussed pp.182-3).³⁷ It is interesting to note that More's Italian colleague Carlo Labruzzi³⁸ produced a watercolour of the same subject only a few years later. Entitled Two People in an Arcadian Landscape, signed and dated 1790 (43.6 x 42.8cm), it shows figures which are clearly those of the Holy Family, with a similar background of a palm tree and winding river, with a pyramid in the distance.³⁹

The next extant landscape is the Roman Lake Scene with figures and cattle, signed and dated 1787 (63.3 x 79.8cm, sold Christie 1952, not seen, Plate 38).⁴⁰ It is a smaller canvas than the other Italian works discussed in this section, and the composition reverts to a much simplified version of the Morning and Evening of 1785,

showing a lake scene which is probably a stylised view of Lake Albano, with Castel Gandolfo seen on the further shore and the plains of the Campagna stretching beyond. In the foreground left are several trees, with two figures and cattle beneath. To the right, in the middle distance, a ruined tower overlooks the lake. It is a calm, serene composition, with undisturbed reflections in the surface of the lake. The smaller scale and simpler design is more successful as a composition than many of the other scenes, for the trees fill much of the space at the top of the picture, and the buildings on the further shore provide a focal point in the centre.

This is only one of many recorded views of the Italian lakes, though now the only known example. More exhibited two views of Lake Albano in 1775, a Lake of Nemi in 1777; Henry Herbert saw a 'view of the Lake of Albano with Castel Gandolfo' in his studio in 1779, and a Castel Gandolfo was exhibited in London in 1785.⁴¹ Two reviews of lake scenes were published in the Roman art journal Giornale delle belle Arti, one in January 1785 and another in December 1786. The first review (Appendix C.4) described a 'view of the Lake of Albano from Palazzola', which had been commissioned by 'Sig. Cavaliere York' (line 6). This was probably Philip Yorke, for the dealer James Byres wrote to him the following month:

'Mr More has finished your landskips. I think them both good pictures especially the large one, a view of the Lake of Albano, which I believe may be esteem'd one of his very best pictures'. 42

The reviewer particularly praises More's harmony of colouring, "lively

and gentle at the same time, which is so difficult to achieve' (lines 16-17). The composition shows a wood in the foreground, through which a path leads to Albano (lines 18-21); behind these, other reddish trees are lit up by the sun, which is setting behind the monastery (lines 22-25). The lake, calm as a mirror, reflects the surrounding bare mountains (lines 29-31) and in particular the cliff surmounted by Castel Gandolfo (lines 31-2). Beyond stretches the Campagna with the Tiber (lines 32-4), and distant mountains rise towards Civitavecchia and the sea (lines 35-6). There is a group of figures in the foreground: a woman plays the tambourine and a man a pipe while others look on, and there are cattle in the middle distance (lines 38-40). Figures similar to this are found in the Distant View of Rome in the Langford-Brooke collection (Plate 29). The critic ends with a burst of praise for More's abilities (lines 42-47).

The second review of a lake scene was published in the same journal in December 1786 (Appendix C.9). It describes the 'Lake of Castel Gandolfo with the Papal residence to the left' (lines 26-7). As in the other lake scenes, the water is calm and reflects the scene beyond. In the foreground, two boys are climbing a tree to rob a bird's nest, and in the middle distance are two women, one in local costume, and a man playing the guitar (lines 30-34). The critic lavishes praise on More's use of colour and delicacy of handling:

'The harmony, colouring, frankness of touch, delicacy ... Mr. More is making great strides towards occupying the first place in the Temple of artistic glory, and to being admitted alongside the great Claude Lorraine, rightly called the Prince of landscape painters' (lines 37-45).

A draft letter from More's Letterbook would suggest that it was commissioned by Mr. Patteson in Norwich (a friend of his other Norwich patron, Thomas Harvey): in February 1787 he wrote to Patteson 'I hope [it] will please You it is a View on the Lake of Albano which takes in Castello Gandolfo a Sun Sett'.⁴³

A lake scene by More, a Lake of Bracciano, is recorded to have hung in Stourhead at the beginning of the nineteenth century (Sir Richard Colt Hoare toured Italy in the late 1780s, patronising many artists in Rome, including More's colleague Carlo Labruzzi); it was listed at Stourhead, Wilts, in 1818 and 1840, but is now lost.⁴⁴ Another Italian Lake scene was recorded at a sale in 1803 (see Appendix A).

Despite his increasing preoccupation with other forms of employment, More continued to produce large numbers of landscape paintings until his death. They were, however, increasingly repetitive and executed with less finish. Two hitherto unnoted examples of this late style, traced in the course of this study, are a pair of canvases in his largest size, Capriccio Italian River landscape and Falls of Tivoli (both 147 x 203cm, Plates 39, 66 and 67) both signed 'Jacob More, Rome, 1790'.⁴⁵ They are in a private British collection, hanging in wall compartments of almost identical size, in a house built only a few years before the paintings were executed; it is therefore probable that they were commissioned specifically for their present location. They both repeat earlier compositions, with very little detail, and

they have crude, almost lurid, colour schemes; the River Landscape is predominantly orange and pink, while the Falls of Tivoli, which will be discussed with other waterfall paintings in Chapter Six (p.193), is predominantly blue and pink.

The River Landscape shows a river meandering through foreground woods to a plain, with a villa, a round tower and part of the ruins of the Bridge of Augustus at Narni seen in the middle distance. In the foreground right are three peasants, one playing a guitar. There are cattle in the centre, and a wooden bridge with three figures leads off to the left. The distant hills are similar to those in the Morning and Evening of 1785. Both of the paintings are in a poor condition (rare in More's extant work) with vertical cracks and other damage. They still retain their original heavy gilt frames, however. The most marked feature of the paintings is the haste in which they seem to have been executed: they are very large, and More has applied the paint with extremely wide brushes, the result being a technique between that of easel and scenery painting. More's training in the theatre would probably have enabled him to work in this large-scale manner without difficulty.

The River Landscape of 1790 is very similar to the next dated painting, the medium-sized Italian River Landscape, signed and dated 1791 (98.8 x 148.5cm, not seen, sold Christie 1926, Plate 40).⁴⁶ It has the same formula of a meandering river, foreground bridge and cattle, a round tower and villa in the middle distance (in this instance on opposite banks of the river), a plain and distant hills.

Though this is the last of the Italian landscapes now known, several more are recorded. Early in 1792 Count Stolberg, visiting More's studio, saw a painting of

'the arrival of Telemachus and Mentor on the island of Calypso. The morning sun glimmers, and trembles, on the soft broken waves of the sea. The island is a charming spot. Earth, Sea, and air, all wear the most friendly smiles'. 47

There are no extant paintings from 1793, though two are recorded, both listed in the Catalogue of the Permanent Collection of the Cincinnati Art Museum, 1905, as Landscape, dated 1793, by 'Jacob More - English'.⁴⁸ They are no longer in the Gallery, and the present staff have no knowledge of their whereabouts.

Several other landscapes without specific subjects, which may include paintings already discussed in this section, have been traced from collection and sale catalogues (details in Appendix A). In chronological order of sales, they are

*

1799 - 'Beautiful landscape, by Jacob More, oval carved and gilt frame, extreme',
3'8" x 3'0" (111.5 x 91.2cm)
Sale, David Martin, Edinburgh, 1799.

1807 - 'Three small landscapes, highly finished',
Christie, 1807.

1807 - 'View in Italy', Sale of John Barber, Christie,
'purchased by him above forty years ago in Italy'.

1842 - 'A rocky landscape with a cascade, and peasants and cattle; evening-scene', Christie, 'Property of a Gentleman in Dorsetshire'.

1844 - 'View near Rome', Tait, Edinburgh.

*1785 - 'A Rocky Landscape', Sale of Alexander Ramsay,
Hutchins, London.

Many of More's lost paintings have come up for sale in recent years attributed to other artists. Only one has been attributed to More that is possibly not by his hand, an Italian Landscape (oil on canvas, 75 x 100cm, sold London c.1975, private Swiss collection, Plate 41), which could be the work of Hackert.⁴⁹ It is neither signed or dated; the complexity of the design, the profusion of incidental movement and the detailed foreground foliage would suggest Hackert's hand, though the gentle curves of the branches overhanging the lake, the position of the trees, the postures of the figures and the serene atmosphere are more typical of More's style. The colour would immediately denote which artist had produced the painting, though unfortunately it has not been possible to check this.

More's artistic progress from 1780 onwards was thus a development in the painting of light and colour, with little change or apparent interest in subject-matter or composition. Had he enjoyed less commercial success, his creativity would have been tested in developing new subjects and designs, but he wasted his abilities in repeating the formulae which found the widest success with the buying public. His other activities - as landscape gardener, agent and dealer - probably claimed too great a proportion of his time and energy for him to experiment and develop his powers as a painter, and his huge popular success perhaps led him to rest on the hard-won laurels of earlier years. The repetition and slick virtuosity of much of the mature paintings show a sad waste of a high potential, but the later paintings can still be regarded as magnificent essays in colour technique and eccentric theatricality.

b. Lost Landscape Subjects

Several recorded landscape subjects of which there are now no known extant examples are discussed in this section. They are most conveniently dealt with in subject groups: i) Moonlights, ii) Tempests, iii) Deluges, iv) Other lost subjects.

i. Moonlights

The first recorded Moonlight painting is that reviewed in ^{the} Giornale delle belle Arti in January 1785 (Appendix C.3). The reviewer states that it had been commissioned by Lord Bristol, and that it is the same size as the Vesuvius and Deluge of 1784 (lines 1-8); these are also now lost, so the size cannot be determined. The nominal theme of the painting is Diana and Endymion, though the reviewer, in noting the subject at the end of his article (lines 68-73), implies that the composition was first and foremost a landscape painting in interest. The colouring is described first - a deep blue sky with the moon casting a dazzling light over the scene, creating deep shadows yet avoiding the sense of murky darkness which 'can so often mar night scenes' (lines 13-23). In the foreground rises a large crag, over half the height of the canvas, surmounted by various buildings, prominent among which is a Temple of Diana (lines 28-32). A smaller rock rises nearby, with lush foliage, swans and other rocks around it (lines 32-35); a promontory runs out from the opposite bank, on which stand four large trees (lines 43-48). The critic particularly admires the treatment of the trees, the interlacing of branches, and the play of light and shade (lines 49-53). Lying asleep at the foot of the

largest tree is the beautiful young Endymion; Diana approaches attended by nymphs and dogs, gracefully extending her arm towards him (lines 68-73). The writer concludes the article with a lavish burst of praise for More's abilities (lines 73-79). Though the painting is not recorded elsewhere at this period, it was listed by Neale in 1823 as 'Diana and Endymion - Moore' hanging in the Bristol collection at Downhill.¹

Nearly two years later another Moonlight scene was reviewed briefly in the same journal (Appendix C.9); the reviewer states that it was one of two paintings destined for England (lines 5-6). It depicts a beautiful summer landscape illuminated by the full moon (lines 6-9); three nude maidens are seated on the bank, one wiping her feet at the water's edge (lines 14-17), and a large building rises on a hill behind (lines 17-18). It is an extremely quiet, tranquil scene (lines 21-2).

The second composition is very similar to the first - but it is even more similar to the lost painting from which the only extant engraving of More's work was taken. The engraving is dedicated to Lord Bristol, and is entitled Moon Light. Diana and Nymphs bathing; it comes from a painting 4'11" by 6'8" (c. 160 x 203cm), which was the largest size of canvas on which More worked (Plate 54; the history of the engraving itself is discussed pp.152-6). It shows a wide river flowing past a wood in the foreground right, and a precipitous crag in the middle distance left, surmounted by various classical buildings including a round temple. There is a sophisticated patterned effect of the moonlight gleaming through the long, horizontal clouds, and a

somewhat laboriously detailed interlacing of tree branches. Four nude women stand and sit near the river, one apparently wiping her feet. One of the women is obviously Diana, for her bow hangs on the shattered tree trunk beside her, and two dogs wait nearby. Many elements of the composition are to be found in More's other Italian landscapes - the precipitous cliff with its flat slabs of overhanging rock, the temple, the calm river, the sweeping inlet to the left with the fire lit on the bank, and the shattered tree trunk in the foreground. The clouds are given a prominence unusual in More's work, but this may be the work of the engraver rather than the artist. It is interesting to note that the reviewer does not mention Diana and her Nymphs as the subject of the painting, although More had already discussed a composition of this subject in a draft letter to George Beaumont, written only a month earlier; in this he stated that the painting was one of a pair, a 'Moon Light with Diana and Nymphs bathing' and 'a Morning a Distant Country with Mountains and a rising Mist a River with a Small Water fall Trees with the Entrance into a Wood the figure represent the morning Chace of Diana'.² The reviewer does not mention for whom the picture was painted, though the engraving was dedicated to Lord Bristol; More's nephew, in a letter of 1794, also refers to 'a Print done from a Moon light of the late M^r Mores Painting for Lord Bristol'.³ Whether the reviewer described a different painting, or whether he inspected the only version before it was completed is hard to determine, though the latter case would seem to be the most likely. There are various references to the companion painting of Diana and Nymphs at the Chase, which will be discussed in part iv of this section.

ii. Tempests

More painted several scenes of Tempests, though the only extant painting of seas and rivers are calm, tranquil scenes. A great deal of documentation exists about one of these paintings; it was described by More himself, reviewed in two Roman art journals, and used as the subject of a lengthy Italian poem. In November 1786 More wrote in a draft letter to George Beaumont:

'I have painted a Sea Storm by Night with Ship Wreck [?] Effect given by Lighting it is thought the best thing that I have yet done an Italian Gentleman here has made it the Subject of a Poem ...' 4

He also mentioned the poem to his friend Sandys, enclosing a copy for him with other goods sent over in January 1787. The published reviews of the painting demonstrate, rather comically, the extent of More's public popularity; the two rival journals, which produced their reviews in May and June 1786, also both printed the lengthy poem which describes the painting.

The first review appeared in the Poetry section of Memorie per le belle Arti - all other reviews were published in the Painting section (Appendix C.7). The writer describes the scene as that of a furious tempest raging at night (line 4) illuminated by lightning (line 12); the critic is astonished at the artist's skill in catching the action of the scene so accurately (lines 13-25). In the distance are vaguely-defined buildings, trees, and hills (lines 31-3); the few figures are so well introduced that they immediately rivet the viewer's attention; they are executed in the manner of Poussin, with great force of

expression (lines 35-38), and it is impossible to view the picture without experiencing a sense of shock and fear (lines 33-35). The poem, an 'Idyll', entitled The Tempest ('La Tempesta') describes the atmosphere of the scene and adds a few more details of composition: a fisherman drags a young mother clasping her child through the water,⁵ while others pull to shore a small boat behind the ship.⁶ The poem concludes with praise for the artist's abilities (in translation): 'O the highest ornament of Scotland's soil, MOOR ...'⁷

The second review appeared a month later in ^{the} Giornale delle belle Arti (Appendix C.8). This reviewer expresses amazement at More's ability to capture such a violent scene with such force (lines 7-8); the light is luridly red (line 9); the rocks are splitting apart (lines 12-13), a high tower is being toppled by lightning (lines 23-4) and the seas open in immense abysses, and seem to reach to the very sky (lines 24-26). Like the first reviewer, the writer also praises the handling of the figures (lines 27-33). The themes of storm and lighting could well be influenced by the works of de Louthembourg, Vernet, Dughet and Van Bloemen, many of whose paintings fit this description in both composition and style.⁸

There were probably several other Tempest paintings in addition to these described. One was noted in More's studio in 1792 by Stolberg:

'a stormy sea, with a rocky shore: the time night, the moon in her last quarter, and obscured, the lightning descending, dead bodies swimming towards the shore (sic), and shipwrecked mariners half expiring dragged to land ... excellent, and full of terror'. 9

iii. Deluges

The first recorded Deluge scene is that noted in More's studio by Father John Thorpe in 1774; he referred to a 'universal deluge', without giving any further details.¹⁰ In 1780 Canova visited the studio and saw a Deluge,¹¹ which may have been one of the Four Elements series for Lord Bristol noted by James Irvine the following year - 'Fire he [More] has represented by Vesuvius, Water by the flood'.¹² Another was included in a later Four Elements series for Lord Cowper in 1784; this was described in some detail in ^{the} Giornale delle belle Arti in April 1784 (Appendix C.1). The reviewer begins by stating that the series is intended for 'Milord Cowper';¹³ of the four canvasses commissioned, the two representing water and fire, six by eight palms in size, are now complete (lines 3-6). The painting of the flood depicts the moment when the waters have almost covered the earth, little of which now shows above the surface (lines 15-17). The sun, peering pallidly through the torrential rain, only serves to heighten the horror (lines 21-23). Noah's ark floats in the middle distance (lines 25-6), and the setting sun spells death to the remaining living things, taking away all hope of rescue (lines 30-3). The rain rushes down the hills to meet the waters rising up (lines 40-2), and the trees are bowed down with the weight of the onslaught (lines 45-7). The reviewer gives special praise for the handling of the figures 'so well drawn, composed and painted that they merit more than a passing glance' (lines 50-2). A group of figures stand on a hill in the foreground, and a half-submerged horse struggles for ground while a man clutches from the water at the rider's foot (lines 55-9). It would be difficult 'to turn one's back on the picture with a serene mind' (lines 62-3).

More exhibited a painting entitled The Deluge at the Royal Academy in 1788 (no.39), though this was probably a later version, perhaps the one noted by Goethe when he visited More's studio in 1787. Goethe was enthusiastic in his praise of it, and was particularly struck by what he considered to be More's great originality:

'While other artists have painted the open sea, which conveys the idea of a vast watery expanse but cannot show that the waters are rising, he has depicted a secluded valley into which the waters are rushing and filling it up. The shapes of the rocks show that the water level has nearly risen to the summit, and since the valley is closed off diagonally in the background and all the cliffs are steep, the total effect is one of terror. All the tones of the picture are grey; the muddy, churning water and the pouring rain blend intimately; the water cascades and drips from the rocks as if their enormous masses were about to dissolve themselves into the universal element, and the sun, lacking all radiance, looks like a wan moon through the watery haze, although it is not yet night. In the centre of the foreground, some human beings have taken refuge on an isolated plateau, at the very moment when the rising flood threatens to overwhelm them. It is a huge picture, seven or eight feet long and five or six feet high ...' 14

It was also discussed briefly in a review in Memorie per le belle Arti in June 1787, where it is described as a companion to an already finished Etna (Appendix C.11). The critic adds no new information about the composition, echoing earlier praise of More's outstanding abilities. Both Goethe and the journal critics seem to have been struck with More's originality, though the composition could well have been influenced by other versions of the subject of which he had first-hand knowledge. Carracci's Deluge in the Stanza del Diluvio of the Quirinale Palace may well have been available for More to study.¹⁵ Another possible influence is Poussin's Winter or Flood of which prints and copies were available: this shows a ring of rocks enclosing

the foreground, with a boat beneath, and the higher water level behind the rocks gushing over to fill the lower regions. Figures climb up onto the rocks, and there is lightning overhead.¹⁶ Another possible model for the composition is the Deluge of More's fellow-artist James Jefferys (1751-84). More certainly knew Jefferys, for Thomas Jones records both men meeting together at the English Coffee House, below More's studio, in 1776.¹⁷ Jefferys had won the gold palette of the Society of Artists in 1774 for a historical drawing The Deluge and he had exhibited a painting of the same title at the Society's exhibition in 1775 (no.163); the painting is now lost, but there is an extant drawing of the subject, signed and dated 1772, which shows hilltops with rocks and trees, and a raft bearing a mother and her dead son.¹⁸

iv. Other lost subjects

A Diana and Nymphs at the Chase, companion to the engraved Moonlight, was described in several of More's draft letters in the Letterbook. Writing to Sandys about October 1786, he mentioned

'the Companion I have begune which is a Morning with a Prospect of a fine Country Distant mountains and rising mist the entrance of a wood with the Morning Chase of Diana'. 19

A similar description was given in a draft letter to George Beaumont about a month later,²⁰ and a further more detailed description is to be found in a third draft to Lord Bristol, of January 1787:

'a Morning Scene a Distant Country Mountains with a rising mist from a Lake a River with a fall of Water and some Ruins on the fore Ground are Large Trees and the figures represented Diana and Nymphs and the Morning Chace Diana has wounded the Deer and the Dogs are laying hold of him the other Nymphs inployd in the pursuit of ever body who has Seen this Composition has has expressed great Satisfaction and thinks it a Suitable Companion for the Moon Light'. 21

The description is not sufficiently detailed for a clear understanding of the design or of any possible influence. In a draft letter to Thomas Harvey in June 1787, however, More mentioned a print just made by Morghen of 'the Caccia of Diana in Burghese Pallace by Domenichin a Celebrated Picture', which could have influenced his design.²² Also, there is a sketch entitled Lake^{of} Nemi in the National Gallery of Scotland (RSA 445, Plate 52, discussed p.147) which may have been a preparatory sketch for it. It shows the lake and town with Diana and her Nymphs in the foreground, meeting Acteon near an altar on which a sacrifice is burning. It does not exactly fit More's description - but it may have been one of several versions made preparatory to the oil painting; the medium and handling is similar to other watercolours which appear to be studies for recorded oil paintings. Also, the general design of the composition balances that of the engraved Moonlight for which it was intended to serve as a companion, with rocks, buildings and figures on complementary sides of the design.

It is not clear for whom the painting was intended - perhaps Lord Bristol, to whom More described both the paintings and the engraving in a draft letter. But it is also mentioned in a letter to Sir William Hamilton from More's nephew in 1794:

'Previous to my leaving Naples, I troubl'd you with a letter regretting My not having an Opportunity of recommending that fine composition, the Morning Chase of Diana, to the King. It is thought to be one of the best M^r More painted'. 23

This would imply that the painting was not commissioned by Bristol, or that he commissioned and then later refused it.²⁴ It was probably the painting sold in 1796 as 'A Landscape with Diana and Nymphs at the Chace, one of the finest and one of the latest of the works of this celebrated artist'.²⁵ A painting entitled Diana and her Nymphs came up for sale in Scotland in 1927, possibly the same work.²⁶

Several other lost paintings are recorded, some of which may bear alternative titles of paintings already discussed. In chronological order of notice they are: The Meeting of Jacob and Rachael, sold 1801; Landscape, with Apollo and the Muses, possibly sold 1802; A Travelling Party Halting (Dowells, 2 March 1912, lot 35, 29" x 24"). and Philosophy (sold in Paris, 26 March 1923 - information from Bénézit).

c. Watercolours and Drawings, Copies and Engravings

This section will deal with (i) watercolours, divided into finished works, plein-air studies and preparatory sketches for oil paintings; (ii) copies of More's watercolours by other hands, and doubtful attributions and (iii) engravings. Some of the 'finished' watercolours may have been exhibited in More's own lifetime, though this is unlikely, as only the titles of his exhibited works are

recorded - drawings and watercolours were generally noted as such in catalogues. The finished works are extremely conventional in both their subject-matter and technique, the only originality of treatment being in the colouring; the freely-handled plein-air and study sketches are markedly different, with their hasty, wavering lines, and delicate washes of colour.

(1) Finished Watercolours

More produced various watercolours of the Tivoli area, three of which are now known. The two illustrated in this study are Tivoli (watercolour over pencil, 35 x 49cm, signed and inscribed on the mount, coll. James Holloway, Plate 42),¹ and At Tivoli (the same medium, size and inscription, private collection, Plate 43).² As they are the same size, and appeared in the same sale in 1975, they could possibly have been produced as a pair, yet the designs of the two works make this unlikely. Tivoli shows the small town on its hill in the distance, with the Campagna beyond, and the dome of St. Peters in Rome on the horizon; there are hills and trees in the middle distance, and in the foreground two women in local costume, with a third on a donkey. A large shattered tree stands in the foreground right. An almost identical tree appears in the same position in the other watercolour, At Tivoli, which would make the two together unattractively similar in design. They were perhaps produced at the same time for different patrons, or for sale. The second watercolour shows Tivoli at a similar distance, though from a different vantage point, with a shepherd and

his flock passing a roadside crucifix in the foreground. Both are executed in a very laborious, heavy manner, with solid outlines, and muted greens, greys and browns^{are} predominant in the colouring. The treatment of the buildings is particularly tight and laboured, while the foliage and rocks show a more relaxed handling and greater delicacy of tone. The figures in most of More's watercolours are unimaginative and repetitive - the seated women and the donkey with its rider are shown in poses which recur in many other watercolours, notably the Horace's Villa series.³ Neither view shown is in any way original, and the extremely conventional, almost timid manner of handling of the themes is in great contrast to the artist's confident exploration of new styles and methods in his oil paintings. A third Falls of Tivoli (51 x 71cm, signed, not seen) was sold in London in 1977 (see p.196).

Another watercolour in this style is the Bay of Naples from Vesuvius (brown wash over pencil, 35.5 x 50.0cm, Witt Collection, 320, Plate 44) signed and dated 'Jacob More 1784' on the mount.⁴ It shows the bay of Naples seen from high up on the slopes of the volcano; the islands in the misty distance (now very faded) form a delicate contrast to the dark foreground rocks of lava with their strange, twisted shapes. Several Grand Tourists admire the scene, but their very wooden stances lack vitality, and there is little sense of their fitting into the composition rather than posing against it as a backcloth. The purely topographical nature of the watercolour is demonstrated by the inscription on the reverse:

'A View taken from Mount Vesuvius near the Lava this View takes in the Bay of Naples, the Islands of Ischia, Cap Mesenum and the Bay of Puzzoli'.

There is no reference to the activity or force of the volcano, though the formation of the volcanic rocks on the left of the composition is contrasted with the non-volcanic rocks on the right. More produced several other views of the area, including a Naples and Posillipo (ink and watercolour over pencil, 51.7 x 72.5cm, Yale Center for British Art, ^{Plate S}), which is inscribed on an old mount, perhaps in More's hand, 'A View of Naples from Pausilipo'.⁵

More repeated not only his subject-matter, but also at least one design. The earliest dated watercolour of his Italian period is A View at Terracina, signed 'Jacob More Rome 1778' (ink and watercolour over pencil, 40.7 x 54.6cm, Yale Center for British Art, ^{Plate T}).⁶ A second version, inscribed At Terracina, signed 'Jacob More Rome 1787' (41.5 x 53.2cm, private collection, Rome),⁷ is almost identical in design, with a few additional details. Both show the cliffs of Terracina and the rock of Pesco Montano surmounted by the ruined palace, with fishermen in the foreground; there are more figures, shown in greater detail, in the second version. The first is in monochrome, but the second is highly coloured, with reddish earth, a deep blue sea and sky, a rosy glow in the palace, and a delicate veil of mist in the distant areas - the colouring here is close to that of the later oil paintings. The second version still retains the heavy outlines of the first, however, and the figures are as wooden as in most of the other finished watercolours.

The 1787 version of Terracina is one of a pair of Italian views with a Lake of Avernus of the same size, signed and dated 'Lake of Avernus/Jacob More, Rome, 1787 (private collection, Rome).⁸

It is executed in the same high tones, with reddish-brown earth and trees, brilliant blue sky and water, and a remarkable sense of aerial perspective and hazy mist in the distance. There is little attention to composition - the lake, hills and trees are simple and schematic, used as the vehicles for light effects.

There is a third extant signed and dated watercolour of the same year, the Monument of the Battle between the Horatii and the Curiatii near Albano (52 x 71.5cm, sold London 1977), signed and dated 'Jacob More Rome 1787';⁹ it is one of a pair with a Falls at Tivoli. This is an extremely prosaic rendering of a much-depicted scene - in fact all of More's topographical watercolour subjects (with the exception of some of his waterfall scenes) feature well-known places much visited by Grand Tourists and already painted and drawn by other northern artists. It shows three men and a donkey standing in front of the tomb, placed centrally in the composition, with a farm building and trees behind, and hills in the distance. The tones are gentler than those of the two other watercolours of the same year, being predominantly blues and browns, and there is little sense of aerial perspective - it is rather more in the style of the two Tivoli watercolours. It is interesting to compare More's depiction of this oddly-shaped monument with those of other artists - Richard Wilson had produced a much fuller, picturesque oil version, while More's Edinburgh master Alexander Runciman had composed a romantic sketch study with an atmosphere of great violence;¹⁰ in comparison with both these examples, More's version seems distinctly neat, formalized, and unadventurous.

This tendency to simplify, and to reduce rather than enhance the

natural liveliness of a scene, is typical of another undated water-colour, The Temple of Minerva Medica (watercolour over ink 37.0 x 49.3cm, Aberdeen Art Gallery, Plate 45).¹¹ The colours in this composition are restricted to dull greens, greys and browns as in the Monument of 1787, though the handling of the brush is less heavy and the design less schematic; More's poor ability at delineating buildings is clearly shown up in this work - the outline of the temple is correctly drawn, but the fussy, inaccurate details are in his usual wavering hand. The style is not wholly More's: he may have had some help from the watercolourist Ducros, whose figures are very similar to the ones in this composition (see Plate 53). More certainly knew Ducros (see pp.150-1) and it is possible that he provided the basic drawing - hence the correct perspectives of the buildings, and the lively figures - while More provided the detail; or it could be a copy of a watercolour by Ducros, though none exactly like this by Ducros' hand has been found.

More often produced groups of watercolours: the Avernus and Monument of the Horatii, both signed and dated 1787, were perhaps two of the four he sent to Lord Grey de Wilton that year. He referred to them in a draft letter to Grey in June:

'the Views are a View of the Lake of Avernus taking in Monte Cave and the Temple of Apollo 2 a View of the Cascatelle at Tivoli 3d a View near Albano with the Monument of the Horatii and Curatii 4th a View in the Chigi Park at LaRicci'. 12

He also sent at least another two groups of six drawings to other patrons. In January 1786 Michael Shanahan, the architect in charge of the building of Downhill, Lord Bristol's house in Ireland, wrote to

his employer saying that he had received goods from Italy, including '6 Landscapes by More on large paper in Watercolours very beautiful'.¹³ Later the same year More sent another six watercolours to Thomas Harvey, describing them in an accompanying letter as '6 drawings tinted at 4£ each';¹⁴ they were listed in Harvey's account in More's Letterbook as views of the Ponte Salerno, the Bridge of Augustus, the Cascatelle of Tivoli, and another (illegible), plus two in bister of the outside and inside of Neptune's Grotto at Tivoli; the last two of these may be the 'Pair of Drawings, the Interior and Exterior of Neptune's Grotto - Tivoli' included in the sale of John Crome's effects in Norwich in 1821.¹⁵ At about the same date More also sent a group of drawings as a gift to the Rev. William Sandys,¹⁶ hoping for 'a Sincere pleasure in the Continuance of Your Correspondence, relative to the Drawings I hope You will only look upon them as a Small token of our friendship'.¹⁷ He did not name the subjects, but they may have been the group of drawings later copied by More's colleague Richard Cooper (see pp.148-9), which are views of Monte Cassino, Celano, Bolzano, Civitella Roveto, Capostrella and Chieta:- a wide variety of areas.

In 1786 More sent another group of drawings to Edinburgh for his colleague the artist John McGowan, his friend Belcher, and his own sister; in the accompanying letter to McGowan he described them as:

'four of my Large drawings, a View of Tivoli,
Menenases's Villi with the Cascatelli ... 2^d
a View of the Cascade of Terni ... 3^d a View of
Temple of Tivoli and Campagna of Rome 4th one in
Bister a View of Neptuns Grotto at Tivoli ...' 18

McGowan included one of More's watercolours, framed and glazed, in his

1804 sale - 'A capital Italian landscape, with the Sybil's Temple, at Tivoli, and figures, by Jacob More, free pen and colours, one of the best of this excellent artist'.¹⁹ More also executed some views in a new crayon technique, later used by the Edinburgh artist George Walker (see pp.173-4); he sent a group to Walker in 1793, listing them in a letter -

'There are four Drawings in tinted Colours, a View of the Eruption of Vesuvius in the Year 1779 and the Companion a View of the Cascade at the outside of Neptuns Grotto which takes in the Sybils Temple &c. these are done on in Body Pastell Colours which have all the Effect of oile painting'.²⁰

Two of the four described are probably those listed in Walker's collection by Cririe in 1793 - 'A View of the Eruption of Vesuvius which happened in 1779; another of the Falls of Tivoli'.²¹ George Walker ran a drawing Academy in Hunter Square, Edinburgh, and at least one of More's works was hung there for students to copy: the one surviving example was made from a watercolour (now lost) originally executed for the Earl of Bute, and it is inscribed:

'The Bridge of Augustus/ Over the Nera/ Near the town of Narmi (sic) / By Mr. John Spottiswode after an orig. drawing done for the late Earl of Bute by Jacob More of Rome/ Drawing and Painting Academy Hunter Square Edinburgh August 1796' 22

Other versions of the subject are recorded; a watercolour for Thomas Harvey (see p.140), a painting sold in 1801 (see Appendix A), and a capriccio oil version of 1790 (see pp.121-2 & Plate 39).

Several other watercolour subjects have come up in the sale rooms

since More's death, though it is impossible to determine how many of these were originally intended for presentation. In 1837 two Italian views were included in James Russell's sale in Edinburgh: the medium is not stated, but as they are of small size (30.5 x 40.5cm) and their topographical titles it is most likely that they were in watercolour - a View leading from the Appenines to Naples and its companion the Temple of the Sun at Rome. The large collection of watercolours amassed by Dr. John Percy and sold in 1890 included the Bay of Naples from Vesuvius (now in the Witt collection) and Near Naples, Monte Virginia and Terracina, Stone Steps leading to a Cavern, and A View near Rome, now in the British Museum. An Italian Landscape came up for sale in Paris in 1973, and two more Italian views, A Roman Villa on a Hillside (watercolour over pencil, 35.0 x 49.5cm, signed) and Mountain Landscape (watercolour over pencil, 35.5 x 49.0cm, Plate 46) were sold by Spinks, London, in 1979. The Spinks pair are very simple in design, and may be plein-air sketches rather than finished watercolours for presentation.

(ii) Plein-air Sketches and Preparatory Studies for Oil Paintings

Most of the extant plein-air sketches of both the Scottish and Italian periods come from the collection of David Laing, now in the National Gallery of Scotland. None are dated, and many are very hasty pictorial notes, perhaps from a sketchbook.

A typical example is the View of the Vatican (ink and watercolour over pencil, 21.3 x 28.5cm, NGS D868, Plate 47), delicately coloured with a grey and light yellow-green wash. It is inscribed 'Belvedere,

Il Vaticano, Rome', on an old mount (though perhaps not in More's hand). This has long been considered incorrect, but it is indeed the Vatican: the building, hastily but correctly drawn, is shown on a hill to the left, trees and farmhouses are scattered about the surrounding countryside, and a solitary figure sits in the middle distance; the Vatican is no longer in the country, and the view is taken from what is now the tram depot in Piazza Risorgimento (^{location}checked during this study). Although unsigned, the handling of the landscape - the light, racy touch, and the tremulous and somewhat clumsy delineation of the buildings are clearly by More's hand, and reminiscent of the sketches from his Edinburgh period.²³

A less complete Italian sketch is the Rome from the Monte Mario (ink and watercolour over pencil, 45.6 x 58.2cm, British Museum, Plate 48).²⁴ The view is taken from the Villa Mellini, now the site of Rome's observatory; the city is vaguely sketched in, with the dome of St. Peter's slightly left of centre. It is a much weaker drawing than the previous one, with a very bare foreground and one rather bleak, thin tree to the left: it was perhaps made to record the position of the hills and city rather than as a complete composition or study of the scene. The Monte Mario was a favourite spot for artists in the eighteenth century, and like the Vatican, it was still outside the city.²⁵

Several sketches are of unidentifiable locations, such as the View of a Bay in Italy (watercolour over pencil, 38.0 x 26.5, NGS (RSA) 676), which shows a Villa on the shores of a lake or bay. This is also unsigned, but typical of More's handling - the limpid yellows and greens, which convey an impression of the strong sunlight on the scene

with great economy, are particularly like the watercolours of the Licenza series.

There are also several sketches of volcanoes. One of these, attributed to More, is the Catania and Mount Etna (grey wash over pencil, 24.3 x 37.3cm, NGS D863, Plate 49),²⁶ inscribed with the title. The very crumpled sheet of paper is hastily blocked in with dark washes above wavery pencil outlines; though hitherto only attributed to More, it is almost certainly by him, as the handling of both pencil and brush, the ill-defined buildings drawn with apparent impatience and little attention to detail, and the two figures in the middle distance casually added to the composition as silhouettes on a foreground promontory, are all typical elements of his work.²⁷ It could possibly be a study for the lost oil painting, The Coast of Sicily and Mount Etna, exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1786 (no.388). Another volcano sketch is the slight Landscape with Conical Mountain (grey wash over pencil, 19.0 x 24.6cm, NGS D288)²⁸ which is also perhaps a view of Etna. This too is only attributed to More, though for the same reasons of style it would seem to be by his hand; it shows a foreground lake, plain and distant mountain, with little detail. This light, hasty manner of execution, which is such a dominant feature of More's work in comparison to that of his contemporaries, is recorded by Thomas Jones, who accompanied More on a trip up Vesuvius -

'we were amused with More's flying Sketches as he call'd them - for tho' none of the Company waited a moment for him, he contrived to keep up with the party & brought back a dozen Views & these were to pass as portraits of the respective scenes'. 29

Many of the watercolour sketches - perhaps the majority - are now lost; several are probably still in European collections, for no watercolours were included in the London sale of More's effects, held three years after his sudden death in Rome. One group of five sketches, probably by More, has been traced in the course of this study.³⁰ They were until recently part of the large Lemmerman collection of watercolours; now in the Museo di Roma, they are classed as anonymous eighteenth-century works. Four of the drawings are unfinished outdoor sketches of very small size, probably from a sketchbook. The first is inscribed 'Fortezza Monticelli' - the Fortress of Monticelli (brown wash over pencil, 22.0 x 32.0cm, Museo di Roma 2387). It is executed with a hurried touch in extremely free washes over wavering pencil lines; the actual temple is so hastily sketched in that the identification would be difficult without the inscription. The second drawing is the Temple of Hercules in Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli (21.7 x 32.5cm, no.2389), inscribed 'Tempio d'ercole in Villa Adriana in Tivoli', also in the same medium; it depicts ruins among trees, with a sense of heavy, still sunlight that has great similarities with the early, Edinburgh sketches.³¹ The walls of the temple are poorly drawn, in a manner characteristic of More's hand. The third example is a drawing of a building inscribed 'Vicino alla [?] acqua certosa' - probably Near Acqua Acetosa (21.7 x 32.3cm, uncatalogued); it is a simple drawing of a farm building, but the artist has experienced great difficulty in achieving a correct drawing, erasing and repeating the study several times, and pressing heavily into the paper. The fourth watercolour is of the same subject, inscribed 'Vicino ad'acqua Certosa' (21.5 x 32.5cm, uncatalogued); it is similar to the previous example, without the laboured repetitions.

Acqua Acetosa is near the Villa Borghese to the north of Rome; John Ramsay recorded walking to 'Acqua Certosa' in 1783.³² These four sketches are very slight, but there is also a more finished water-colour, Roman Capriccio: the Colosseum and the Tiber (brown and grey wash over pencil, 33.0 x 48.0cm, cat. 6493, Plate 50) inscribed 'il colosseo dal palazzo Ruspiliosi'. It shows the Colosseum in the middle distance, with various other buildings sketched in around more lightly. The river runs towards the viewer (though the Tiber does not in fact run between the Palazzo and the Colosseum), with deciduous trees on the left bank, and Roman stone pines on the right. Under the pines is a group of three figures: one stands and gesticulates towards the view behind, another is seated, extending an arm towards the standing figure, and a third is very lightly pencilled in at the side. Similarities in both design and execution with More's Italian oil paintings would suggest that it might be a preliminary study for a larger work:- the distant view, the imposing building in the middle distance, and the arrangement of the river, trees and figures in the foreground are all typical of the later oils. The figures in particular bear resemblance to other works by More (eg. Plates 6, 27, and 51). The inscription would indicate that the watercolour was not considered a finished work, though it did enter the Museum in a gilt frame.

Other watercolours fit into this category of possible studies for lost oil paintings. One is the River Landscape and Towered Bridge with Figures in the National Gallery of Scotland (grey wash over black chalk, 21.8 x 31.4cm, RSA 501, Plate 51), which was perhaps a study for A Landscape; a calm, with a Bridge, on the Road to Tivoli,

exhibited at the Society of Artists in 1775 (see p. 95). The drawing is neither signed or inscribed, though it is laid down on paper inscribed 'Jacob More', possibly in More's hand. As with the Colosseum watercolour, the drawing seems too formalised a design for a plein-air sketch, yet too unfinished to have been intended as a final version. It shows the flat plain of the Campagna with hills to the left; in the middle distance stands a round tower and bridge over a river, with a shepherd and his flock on the nearer bank; in the foreground left are several tall trees reaching almost to the top of the composition, with three figures underneath - a seated man, a standing woman, and a reclining figure who gestures towards the view behind. The seated man is found in other works by More (eg. Plate 38); the bridge and tower, though ill-defined, are based on the Ponte Lucano with the towered Tomb of the Plautii which stands a few miles west of Tivoli on the road to Rome. Many other artists came to sketch this monument, including John 'Warwick' Smith, and More's colleague Richard Cooper.³³ It was thus no doubt based on plein-air study, but the heavy shading and the heroically posed figures seem to be studio work. Another watercolour in a similar size and style is the Lake of Nemi, with Figures Hunting (grey wash over pencil and black chalk, 21.9 x 31.4cm, NGS RSA 445, Plate 52), inscribed 'Lake of Nemi/Jacob More', possibly in More's hand, which may be a study for the lost Diana and Nymphs at the Chase (discussed pp. 132-4). It is more finished than the preceding composition, but the building and figures are still extremely ill-defined - the interest in the trees and their decorative shapes is more important. Both of the watercolours have identical borders, though these could have been added at a later date.

Several other studies for oil paintings are discussed elsewhere in this thesis. The Cicero and the Daphne and Apollo may have been watercolours in their own right as well as the subjects of oil paintings; the Licenza series was intended as the basis for engravings; and the large drawing of Rome executed several months before More's death was a study for a Panorama of the city.³⁴

There are several extant copies of lost watercolours - a group of six sketches by More's colleague and executor Richard Cooper, a larger watercolour which is probably also a copy by him, and a finished watercolour copied by an Edinburgh student. The set copied by Cooper, traced in the course of this study, are now in a sketchbook (33.0 x 45.5cm, Birmingham City Art Gallery), inscribed 'Six Views in Italy by Jacob More - Sent to England for the Revd. Mr Sandys, Cornwall. copied by Rich^d Cooper/To be Kept. RC.'³⁵ These were perhaps the six watercolours mentioned by More in a letter to Sandys of 1786 (discussed p.140). William Sandys was a friend of Cooper's: the following year More wrote another draft letter to Sandys in which he said 'I am glade to hear of Mr Coopers Welfare'.³⁶ The pages of the book were bound at a later date, as the sketches are not in their original order. Page one is inscribed verso 'No. 6 Monte Casino - taken in the road near an Old Amphitheatre - or Temple rather'; page two, 'No 5. At Chilano - this place has been subject to Earthquakes - '; page three, 'No 1. Bolzano about 15 miles from Sora'; page four, 'No 4. A View near Civitelli in the Appenines'; page five, 'Capostrella - Near the Lake of Fucina'; page six, 'Chieta - taken from Chieta'. All the drawings are done in grey wash over pencil, and recognisably taken from More's work, though the dryer, tighter handling of the

washes is typical of Cooper. The copies seem very simplified, with little detail, mainly showing mountains, trees, hill towns and recumbent foreground figures in poses typical of More's other watercolours. The various subjects would indicate that More had travelled extensively (his journeys are discussed pp.168-70).³⁷

Another watercolour, which also seems to be a copy, is the more finished Mountain Landscape with Ruined Building in the Victoria and Albert Museum (26 x 36.2cm, Cat.140-1890-WD 62B,^{Plate U}) attributed to Richard Cooper. It shows a hill town with rocks and slopes around, possibly from the Licenza valley area. The handling of details, particularly that of the foliage, is firm and repetitive, with the dryish brush-strokes of Cooper, but the delicate washes of pale, limpid, sunlight colours are absolutely typical of More; it is even possible that the two artists collaborated on the sketch.

A copy of a finished watercolour, the Bridge of Augustus, from Lord Bute's collection, made by an art student in George Walker's drawing academy in Edinburgh in 1796, has already been mentioned (p.141). In the previous published note on the work it was stated that the artist himself donated it to the Academy, but the inscription makes it clear that it was either donated to the Academy by Bute, or purchased for it by Walker (though no works by More had been included in the Bute sale of 1794).³⁸

(iii) Doubtful attributions

Two small watercolour drawings in the National Gallery of Scotland, Landscape with two figures on a path (brown and grey wash over pencil, 9.8 x 10.2cm, NGS D1380) and Landscape with tree and two figures (same medium, 7.9 x 14.1cm, NGS D1381) have hitherto been attributed to More, though they are unlikely to be by his hand. The free pencilling and loose brush strokes bear some similarity to his style, but the scale is unusually small and the colouring very heavy. It has been suggested that they are by Johnson Carr, an assistant and pupil of Richard Wilson, and they each bear the inscription 'Carr' on the reverse.³⁹ Few examples are known of Carr's work, though this attribution may be correct; another possible artist is Carlo Labruzzi, whom More had known in Rome, and whose drawings are executed in this free style, with similarly rounded figures.⁴⁰ Another attributed sketch in the Gallery's collection is the Italian Landscape (pencil drawing, 12.3 x 17.2cm, NGS (RSA) 480), which shows a hill town above cliffs, a distant bridge and plain, and foreground figures under trees. The composition is similar to many of More's watercolours and oils, but the pencilling is neat, precise and firm, totally unlike More's delicate touch.

A fourth watercolour in the collection incorrectly attributed to More is the View of Vicovaro (watercolour over ink, 34.4 x 48.3cm, NGS D 5014, Plate 53),⁴¹ which is almost certainly the work of Abraham Louis Ducros (1748-1810, discussed p.139). Ducros' achievement in watercolour painting parallels much of More's in oil: he produced extremely large, ambitious works of the more 'sublime' features of

Nature, using a vivid, predominantly blue-green colour scheme and an exceptionally precise, delicate detailing of foliage and light effects; the National Gallery example is typical of his mature style. Like More, Ducros tended to depict the well-known sights of Italy, selling much of his work to the British Grand Tourists. In 1785 a review in Memorie per le belle Arti noted that he had finished a painting (probably an oil) for Lord Bristol, depicting Cicero and his two friends visiting the tomb of Archimedes - perhaps the same subject as More's 1780 Landscape for the same patron.⁴² He also painted a waterfall subject for Lord Breadalbane, another of More's patrons.⁴³ He and More were not rivals, however - a reference in John Ramsay's Diary suggests that More was even willing to find custom for Ducros: in 1783 More took Ramsay

'to Mr De Cro who showd us some of his works which were very pretty but particularly those in aquarelle which surpass any thing I ever saw of it'. 44

Ducros' abilities as a watercolourist were far greater than More's, and since he did not attempt to take any of the market More held for oil paintings, the two artists would not have felt threatened by one another's success. He was particularly popular with British patrons - Sir William Hamilton collected his works,⁴⁵ and Sir Richard Colt Hoare, who commissioned a series of large watercolour landscapes from him in the 1780s (still in Stourhead, Wiltshire, and very similar in style to the National Gallery of Scotland's example),⁴⁶ later gave him the credit for having revolutionised the art of watercolour painting.⁴⁷

(iv) Engravings

In the mid-1780s More planned to issue engravings from two of his landscapes, but the project was abandoned when near completion for reasons that are still not clear; one example survives, the engraving of Moon Light. Diana and Nymphs Bathing (42.5 x 57.9cm, NGS, Plate 54),⁴⁸ one of the few impressions sent to Britain for approval or advertisement (the two engraved versions of More's Self-Portrait, discussed in Chapter Eight c., were probably not commissioned by More). More regarded the engraving venture as an important step in his career, hoping that it would gain him wider public recognition and increased patronage. By the 1780s engraving had become a large-scale business in Rome: More would have known Piranesi in his early days in Italy,⁴⁹ and he mentioned the Roman engraver Volpato (whom Goethe noted as one of the few Italian artists who could converse in English) several times in the Letterbook.⁵⁰ Reproductions of landscape paintings were enjoying huge popularity at this period, with William Woollett's numerous prints after Claude, Wilson, Vernet, Zuccharelli and others,⁵¹ and Earlom's publication of Claude's Liber Veritatis in 1777. Woollett's laboriously worked plates, some of which took up to two years to complete, had raised both the popularity and the status of engraving. Woollett died in 1785, the year before More started on his project, and More's references to him would suggest that he had perhaps planned that the work be done by him; More certainly made it clear that he wished his own engraved works to be considered as a continuation of Woollett's series of eminent landscape painters.

More first mentioned the venture in a letter to William Sandys in

September or October 1786:

'it has been much wish'd by my friends that Engraving should be done from my Picturs which I would never Consent to unless they were done by Some eminent Engraver, which I have now found one which I think Superior to any Landscape Engraver Since the Death of Mr Woolet he has express.d Great desire of doing them I have Engag'd him for two Plates of the Size of Mr Woollett. Claude one is a MoonLight which is well adapted for a Print ... they are to be done in my hous and under my Eye I pay him very hansomely for the Work but I flatter my Self of the Sucess of the Prints I presume I shall be a gainer both in Reputation and profit ...' 52

He asked Sandys to tell his friends of the project, and to invite them to order first impressions. More seems to have had great confidence in his own judgement on the progress of such a task: his goldsmith's training had perhaps given him some knowledge of the practical aspects of the work, and he may have known Woollett in London, as well as dealing with Volpato in Rome.⁵³ More repeated the information in another draft letter in November to Mark Davies, in which he added that 'there is now great demand for Landscape Engravings so I hope the Sale of mine will reimburse me all my Cost with Advantage'.⁵⁴ He went on to say that he had planned for the engraver to begin on a Storm scene (perhaps the oil painting which had been reviewed in May and June of that year, and which had also been the subject of a poem),⁵⁵ though this was not proving practical as the engraver 'is afraid to begin with it on Account of the difficulty of the Water'.⁵⁶ His intention of equalling Woollett's productions were quite open: in another draft letter of the same month, addressed to ^{Sir} George Beaumont (who had known Woollett well), he wrote:

'there is here an Excellent Landscape Engraver who comes nearer to Mr: Woolett than any one that I know ... I have engaged him for two the Size of Mr: Wolletts Claude'. 57

He then described the two paintings to be engraved - a 'Moon Light with Diana and Nymphs Bathing', and 'the morning Chace of Diana'.⁵⁸ He repeated this in another letter of the same month to John McGowan in Edinburgh.⁵⁹ There follows in the Letterbook a rather puzzling draft letter of January 1787, headed 'to Lord Dunganon': from the contents, and from related evidence, it is clearly addressed to Lord Bristol - the name was probably noted in connection with another letter which does not appear in the Letterbook. The draft letter deals exclusively with the engraving project: More tells his patron that the Moon Light is much admired, and he takes the liberty to 'presume it will give your Lordship pleasure that a Print may be done from it'.⁶⁰ He describes the companion composition, saying he 'should be happy if it should be approvd of by Your Lordship'.⁶¹ In another draft letter of March, addressed to Lord Bristol, he reports that 'my Engraver is going on Wonderfully with his Plate',⁶² and to the same patron a few weeks later, More wrote

'my Copper Plate gos one much to my Satisfaction every one who knows of it has desird to be set down for Coppies as Your Lordship has got the first Picture of the Moon Moon Light from which this was done, would this with some [?] would it be agreable that the Print might be dedicated to Your Lordship'. 63

He had no doubts that his patron would approve: in another draft letter to Beaumont a few months later he gave

'some Account of the Success of my Engraver who has been Already Six months upon the Plate and I assure You he is doing it wonderfully well the aqua forte was prettily manag'd and he has great Execution with the Graver the Skey is don most delicatly. I suppose he will be other four or Six months untile it is Intirly finishd'. 64

In June he informed Sandys that the engraver had

'been alread Six month upon it and I suppose he will be other three as he Intend to do his utmost I have just finishd the Picture of the morning Chace of Diana as a Companion in which I have been very happy in the Effect also in the figures I think it will be better to to publish the first Plate untill the Second is finish as they will go as companions only I will send over a few Impressions to Show the merit of the Work by which means Gentlemen will more readily Subscrib for as to the price I shall be regulated by the advice of my friends Mr: Cooper has wrote me that that as the Print are larg he thinks I should not put them at less than Sh 15 each' 65

The only extant print is probably one of these few first impressions sent over for inspection. It is inscribed 'Jacobe More pinxit/Franceso Morel sculpsit', and is dedicated

'To the Right Hon:^{ble} Frederick Earl of Bristol etc. etc. This Plate is humbly inscribed by his Lordships most humble and most obedient Servant'.

The engraver, Francesco Morel (c.1768-1830), was a pupil of Volpato; still a young man at this time, he later produced large numbers of engraved views of Rome and prints after various landscape painters, including Claude and Hackert.⁶⁶ The general style of the engraving is careful but laboured, and the composition seems heavy and static. The repetitive pattern of the foliage of the trees to the right is a dull

translation of the type of passage in which More's ability to create delicate harmonies of colours could be seen at its most skilful, and the textural effects have been lost. In the delineation of the buildings on the crag to the left, the engraver has clarified More's vagueness of definition without adding the necessary detail to prevent it from appearing too simple and stylised. The only really successful element is the handling of the moonlight itself, which shines through the clouds onto the distant hills and the water with a playful patterning of clouds and hilltops. It is a competent but mediocre example of engraving, the young technician being wary of any innovation or breadth of treatment.

More's draft letter to Sandys in June 1787 is the last mention of the engraving in any of his extant correspondence. There is no record of engravings ever having been sold; the sale of More's effects at Christie's in 1796 included the second of the two oil paintings, and the catalogue is annotated at the end with the same lot number (92) and 'An Engraved Plate, Landscape View in Italy/ a D^o unfinished'.⁶⁷ Either the sample prints did not meet with Lord Bristol's approval, or he refused his permission for the whole project. The only record of a print at a later date is that in a letter from More's nephew in Rome in 1794 to Sir William Hamilton

'I have likewise taken the liberty of sending for
your acceptance, a Print done from a Moon Light
of the late M^r Mores Painting for Lord Bristol'.⁶⁸

More's watercolours are considered more highly today than some of his oil paintings, though the artist himself probably gave little

thought to their creation - hence the freedom and spontaneity of the plein-air sketches. It is probable that many more extant works have yet to be traced, and it may thus be unfair to assess his abilities or attitudes on a group selected principally by one Scottish collector; at the present time, hitherto unknown watercolours appear almost annually in the London salerooms. More's short-lived engraving venture is an oddity: it is the one failure in his otherwise wholly successful commercial career, though had he succeeded in publishing his engravings, it is likely that their popularity would have been short-lived.

d. Methods, Theories and Influences

This section will deal with (i) More as a 'Claudian' painter, (ii) his use of colour, (iii) his fidelity to Nature, (iv) the status of his landscapes with regard to themes and figures, (v) his media, and (vi) his commercial success in terms of the prices his work commanded.

(i) The 'Claudian' Painter

More's style has been described both by contemporaries and later writers as 'Claudian'. In his own day some British critics felt that More actually rivalled Claude in his artistic achievements; Irvine's remark, made in Rome in 1781, that 'My Countryman^{More} comes the nearest to Claude of any painter I know'¹ was a commonly-voiced opinion, and John Beugo was also typical in describing More as 'Alone disputed by delightful CLAUD'.² It was this falsely elevated reputation which led

to the damning criticism of the following century - 'very much over-rated, when rashly compared to the productions of Claude Lorraine', wrote Edward Edwards in 1808,³ and later writers echoed his view.

More's Italian critics, reviewing his work in the 1780s, also considered him to be regaining lost heights of former excellence. The critic of Memorie per le belle Arti, writing in March 1785, discussed the high standard of landscape painting reached by Claude, Dughet and Rosa, which 'has not declined in our century, and we have in Rome many talented artists ... One of these is Jacob More of Edinburgh'.⁴ Another critic, writing in Giornale delle belle Arti the following year, felt that More was approaching the highest level of achievement possible, 'to be admitted alongside the great Claude Lorraine rightly called the Prince of landscape masters'.⁵ More was also, though less commonly, compared to Gaspard Dughet.⁶

These comparisons not only demonstrate how popular were More's brilliant light effects with the public - they also indicate the nature of the eighteenth-century appreciation of such masters as Claude; More's admirers could see the similarity of delicate physical touch and glowing colours, but they failed to perceive the elements which More did not emulate that were also typical of Claude's work, demonstrating little understanding of the artists' relative achievements in form and composition. One rather more discerning writer of More's time did note the trap into which his colleagues had fallen, though he was principally concerned with colour: the critic of the 1786 Royal Academy exhibition (at which More had shown two paintings) had this to say in his article in the Morning Post :

'This Gentleman, who now resides at Rome, is in possession of a first rate reputation for landscape; so much so indeed as to have been placed by people of some judgment, on a level with Claude. We must however declare against every idea of equality in this matter. Mr More is certainly an artist of merit, but sees not nature with the chaste eye of Claude. His pictures in general are too mealy. The aerial hues are in the distances good representations of reality; yet not perfectly discriminated. The trees of the foreground want more effect, and in general are destitute of that vivid verdure, that so great a vicinity must throw on the eye. Mr More is nevertheless a fine artist, and we hope will not always make Rome his retreat'. 7

More was only one of several eighteenth-century landscape artists indebted to Claude, and the influence on his generation has already been the subject of some study.⁸ He was typical in his own recommendation that landscape artists should study Claude: in a draft letter to ^{Sir} George Beaumont in 1787 he wrote 'I am glade You have been so fortunate to find som excellent Clauds which will allwise be to You a Sure Guide'.⁹ This recommendation would suggest that More had studied Claude in some depth himself, and he appears to have made at least one full copy - that of Claude's Landscape with Argus guarding Io (48.0 x 59.0cm, private British collection, Plate 55) which is attributed to More, and seems indeed to be by his hand.¹⁰ The composition is reversed, and thus probably taken from an engraving, or from one of the other numerous copies of the painting, rather than from the original.¹¹ It is small, roughly handled and probably unfinished; the design is faithfully reproduced, but there is little detail (it is half the size of the original) and there is a very pronounced pinky glow pervading the canvas, whereas the original is predominantly blue-green in colour. The temple, animals and figures are delineated with a degree of

precision unusual in More's work, but the hastily brushed-in bridge in the distance and the general fluidity of the paint are extremely typical of his style. The generally unfinished appearance suggests that it might have been a study rather than a finished copy made for sale.

More probably had access to view various examples of Claude's work in Rome: contemporary guidebooks of collections, and the diaries of British visitors, would indicate that the public could visit many of the private palaces as well as religious institutions.¹² More probably also studied the numerous examples of work by Claude's early eighteenth-century followers such as Van Bloemen and Locatelli.¹³ Van Bloemen was a particularly prolific landscapist whose decorative canvasses have much in common with More's work - the repetition of certain formulae of composition and the division of a landscape into distinct planes, for example. One painting hitherto attributed to More, a Falls of Terni, is either by Van Bloemen or a copy of one of his paintings by More (see pp. 193-4). At this period there were over fifty paintings by this artist in the Villa Borghese, and over forty in the Palazzo Colonna.¹⁴ Most of his compositions are capricci of the Italian countryside around Rome, executed in rich blues and greens, with stock figures and poses. More's own style is markedly different, with more extended views, glowing colour effects and more various subject-matter, but the lasting popularity of Van Bloemen's repetitive production may have had an unfortunately strong influence on More's own attitude to his landscapes.

More does not mention Van Bloemen or Locatelli in any of his

extant correspondence: the one non-contemporary artist besides Claude whom he recommends as a master of landscape painting is Joos de Momper.¹⁵ This is particularly interesting as he cites Richard Wilson's admiration for him: writing to Harvey in 1790, More stated

'I have latly purchas'd some Landskips by Mompert they are astonishingly Clever for the Effect and painted in a bold and masterly manner and the figures remarkably well plac'd, and are fine Examples for Massing; I remember M^r Wilson mentioning this Master to me ... this master liv'd about the time of Claud Lorain the Colouring very brilliant - ' 16

Wilson's handling has far more in common with Momper's heavy application of broad areas of paint than More's more delicate, liquid touch, and from the wording of the letter - 'I remember M^r Wilson mentioning this Master to me' - More does not seem to have seen many examples of his work; the letter was written late in More's career and Momper's style probably thus had little or no influence on More's style.¹⁷

(ii) More's Use of Colour

The most impressive quality of More's work, to both his contemporaries and the modern spectator is the extremely idiosyncratic use of colour. The most successful and attractive of More's later colour schemes are the delicate misty greens of the Landscape of 1780, the magnificent rich hues of his Self-Portrait of 1783, and the luminous orange glow of the Tiber Estuary of 1784. The landscapes from the mid-1780s are increasingly striking in their strong colouring, in some cases almost luridly so. Both contemporary and later critics

have been extremely divided in their opinions on More's colouring, but his styles were so various, and his paintings so scarce after his death, that most judgements have been based on a very small sample of his work. The most telling example of the contemporary popularity of his colour schemes is the episode recorded by the young and unsophisticated Henry Herbert, who noted in his Diary, after a visit to More's studio, 'I thought his colouring was harsh, but Mr Hippesley says he is one of the best landscape Painters that exist'.¹⁸

A great deal of More's own attitude to colour in oil painting is recorded in his correspondence and Letterbook: writing to Thomas Harvey in 1786, in a letter now lost but recorded by Anderdon, he discussed

'the great service the Exhibition will be to artists if the judges do not run into extremes for those pictures which are become black either by time or accident, for "a black picture is as great a defect as a gaudy one; Nature is never black wherever there is light; the perfection of Colouring is Clearness, Brilliancy, and Harmony" as in the works of Titian, Rubens, his friend Mr Wright [of Derby], and most of the Flemish school'. 19

This term 'clearness' had been used by More in an earlier letter to the same patron, when he referred to a painting which 'will come very Clear'.²⁰ In the Letterbook, More went into the technical aspects of landscape colouring in some detail, demonstrating an approach that was more that of a craftsman than a fine artist: in a draft letter to George Beaumont he wrote

'but let Nature be Your principle observation considering that the great Verity in Nature requires that we treat it differently according to the point of time or the Circumstances in the View, and as I have mention'd to You before, nothing ought to be more attended to than the local Collours ... take care that You use not Violent Greens which present themselves to the Eye so Strongly in England Consider that the Collours can easely [?] as green as real trees but cannot arrive at the brilliancy of the Sun therefore keep to a Scale and the brighter You paint the Skey, the brighter You can bring up all the rest of the Picture'. 21

He repeated this in another draft letter to George Beaumont soon after, emphasising again that the sky was the most important part of a landscape painting, and noting that sunlight caused different colours in the sky at different times of day:

'the Sun in the Course of the day gos threw the Whole of the Prismatic Collours, that is ... each of these Colours predominates] in the light according to the Situation of the Sun for Instance taking the afternoon ...' 22

He accompanied this with a diagram of the various colours found in conjunction with various positions of the sun (Plate 56). More gave a much more detailed description of his method of colouring in two draft letters to Thomas Harvey the same year. Harvey seems to have asked for advice on the matter, for in the first letter More began '[I] should be glade if I can give You any Instruction relative to the Skys of which You complain I must Confess it is the most difficult part of the Picture'.²³ He followed by giving a brief guide to the application of the sky colours;²⁴ this information was repeated and expanded in another draft letter a few months later:

'by Your last letter You Informs me of Your have purchas'd som ~~ef~~ Landscapes of the best Masters espicialy of Claud Lorain which will Serve as Sure Guid to avoid the Manerist and if I should give some Advice for the Process of a Picture it would be to be aware of the Violent greens which present starts to the Eye espicily in England, ~~but You must Consider that~~ the Collours on the Pallet very easely produces greens equal and even more than in nature but we must consider that no Collours can arive at the Brillancy of the Skey ther for that ought to be the first object and all the other part in a due Subordination, but on purpos that the picture may be Clear the ~~higher~~ ^{brighter} ~~You can bring the Ten of the Skey the higher then you can bring~~ up the other parts of the Picture, and avoid also making a Black picture, for which purpos let the Cloath be light not quit white and propose the Skey Simply not putting in very little Red and Yellow and the blue [?] by which means the Grandation will be easier Attend do not expect to get it Smooth without the marks of the Brush for the first time and if a large Picture it will require thre or four times over. Blind the Collours well wit with Softning [?] continue the distances with more blue Breaking it with Red and very little Yellow giving it more Strength as You come forward put but little or no green in the dead Coulour in the finishing ... let the dead Collour be very dry before You lay on the last Colour about a month and never turn the Picture from the light'. 25

This pursuit of brilliance in sky colouring was a preoccupation only in More's Italian period: in the earlier Scottish landscapes the skies take up little of the canvas, and they are painted in blue, with white-grey clouds that do not seem to have been the subject of much study. It may well have been the influence of de Loutherbourg and Joseph Wright which prompted More to develop such an interest: Farington quoted de Loutherbourg as having studied the methods used by Claude and other in skies:

'Loutherbourg ... said that though Claude repeated the Colouring of his skies, going them over more than once yet it was in the lightest parts that He put on much body of colour ... He said all the Flemish Master & Dutch painted on White grounds, except Vanderneer'. 26

Thomas Jones, who was a pupil of Wilson (perhaps at the same time as More), describes in his diary his own work on a View of the Lake of Albano (a Sun set) - 'painted the Sky & distance a second time - NB took half an Ounce of Ultramarine in the Middle Distance - used no Blue - only black Italian Chalk ground, White, Naples Yellow & Vermilion'.²⁷ According to Whitley, Richard Wilson generally used 'a powerful body in the dead colouring, chiefly in grey, except foregrounds which he painted at once'.²⁸ Thus More's very light ground is different from both Wilson and his pupil Jones, and he did not use any of the black which other artists did - this was certainly contrary to Reynolds' recommendation, as quoted by Farington:

'Dance recommended the painting Clear Skies with Ultramarine and White alone & to use Ivory Black with White for the Cloud tints: adding in some cases a little Vermilion or naples yellow. - He said Sir Joshua Reynolds recommended the using Black for his cloud tint, which He said would always be in harmony with the Blue and White.' ²⁹

More does not seem to have used any black, at least not in the Italian landscapes. It is perhaps not a coincidence that he was admired by Reynolds early on in his career, and also by ^{Sir} George Beaumont, but that they do not seem to have taken much interest in his later work; More's mature style developed in a direction completely opposed to that of Beaumont's ideals (expressed in the much-quoted recommendation that a landscape painting should be a mellow brownish tone like an old fiddle), and Farington quoted Beaumont in 1812 as saying of More

'A picture which He sent to England was bought by Sir Joshua Reynolds & by Him sold to Mr. Philip Metcalfe. This picture was of a better colour than More's pictures usually were. This Sir George [Beaumont] sd. was accounted for it having been glazed & touched upon by Reinagle Senr.' ³⁰

The most skilful passages in More's paintings are the misty distances and the spray of waterfalls. These elements contrast strongly with the work of contemporaries such as Hackert, Marlow, and Jones, whose distances, though more detailed and distinct, have little of the subtlety of atmosphere that More achieved. It seems to have been a quality in which they were simply not very interested, though the techniques of aerial perspective had been discussed by earlier writers on landscape painting, such as Peacham, and in the later eighteenth century by Edward Dayes.³¹ More had obviously studied the effects of aerial perspective in some depth, for in a draft letter to Beaumont he advised him to paint landscapes

'remembring that ther is a Medieum of Air between and every object that we See and that more or less Influence according to the following Circumstance if the Sun is is introduced into the Picture ... the medieum will be more illumin'd and the local Collours less Visable as You aproach the Sun, if You would paint a Picture where the medieum is th n such as we se sometime after rain and taking the View some distance from the Sun then the local collours of the object are more distint considering at the same time that if You make objects very distinte in the Distance You must continue the same proportione of the Local Collours untill You come to the foreground for an Errour against this Rule is as great as if in linear Perspective ... but I shall write You more upon this' 32

It was probably this concentration on colour and aerial perspective which led him to neglect the basic compositions, repeating motifs in one painting after another and leaving large areas of the canvasses without any subject interest. Many artists of this period, such as Gainsborough and Nasmyth, used studio models of trees, rocks and shrubs when composing their landscapes;³³ More appears to have painted

idealised, imaginary scenes based only on plein-air sketches.

Although More's colour schemes changed radically during his career, his handling of the paint itself remained remarkably similar. The stylised tree branches of the early sketches (eg. Figures outside a Cave, Plate 13, and Neidpath Castle, Plate 22), are repeated in later works such as the Falls of Tivoli of 1790 (Plates 66 and 57). The dribbling, loose strokes used for the water of Corra Linn I and II, where the heavily-laden brush barely touches the canvas, is also used in these later works. Even in the large scenes of apparently tight handling, such as the Morning and Evening of 1785, the actual brush strokes of the water are remarkably fluid.

(iii) Fidelity to Nature

The Roman reviewers of More's landscapes lavished praise on his truth and fidelity to Nature - when describing the Morning and Evening of 1785, the critic of Memorie per le belle Arti wrote that 'The trees are executed with such delicacy and such truth that they give an illusion, and it seems that the eye penetrates and passes through the shady recesses'.³⁴ In the reviews of the Deluge and Storm scenes, they are praising the force of the effect rather than the actual fidelity to natural phenomena, though again the strength and colouring certainly strike them as highly realistic.

How much did More study from nature, and how much of his studying is translated into the oil paintings? He certainly did sketch from nature, as his extant drawings bear witness, but in his oil paintings

any studies used were worked up into an imaginary landscape atmosphere. This was hardly reprehensible: Reynolds had noted that even Claude 'was convinced, that taking nature as he found it seldom produced beauty',³⁵ and Valenciennes, in his treatise on painting in Elémens de Perspective Pratique, discussing paintings of volcanoes, stated that the force of an experience was not lost in a painting executed later, without on-the-spot sketches.³⁶

In his Self-Portrait, More shows himself at work in the countryside, near the Grotto of Neptune at Tivoli (Plate I).³⁷ He appears to be working in oil - he has a small stretched canvas, a palette and five brushes. This, however, cannot be taken as evidence of his normal working methods, as it may simply be the pose he has selected to represent himself as the 'artist of Nature'. There is only one record of his actual sketching activity, that of Thomas Jones's account of More on Vesuvius, when he made a series of 'flying sketches', though Jones does not tell us in which medium they were made.³⁸

More travelled a great deal in Italy. His extant sketches are of the areas around Rome, Naples, Sicily, and the Licenza valley. Cooper's copies of More's sketches include views made in the Abruzzi, and Bolzano on the way to Switzerland.³⁹ More planned at least one trip to Switzerland, though his reference to it in a draft letter does not make it clear whether he actually went - 'my Intended Jaunt last Summer was to See Switzerland'.⁴⁰ More followed this note with the words 'I agree with You as to the residence of an Artist as I believe there is an Inspiration to be drawn from the Air and the objects in Italy'.⁴¹ More also mentioned, in a letter to his sister in 1790,

travelling to Venice to purchase Old Master paintings (see p.277).

There is another reference to his plein-air sketching in a letter to Thomas Harvey of 1785:

'having now finish'd my Picture for Prince Burghese,
I propose going to the Country for a month to make
Studdies from Nature'. 42

An interesting reference to More's out-of-town lodgings is found in James Northcote's correspondence and memoirs. When Northcote arrived at More's apartment over the English Coffee House in 1777, More 'was not yet returned from his lodging in the country, which was at the Villa formerly Raffaelle's, near Rome'.⁴³ This was probably the Villa Olgiati, near the Villa Borghese; it was mentioned by James Northall in 1766 as having 'belonged to Raphael; though now there is nothing to be seen but some fresco ornaments on the walls of the rooms'.⁴⁴ It was situated in an area near the Villa Borghese where artists often came to sketch as well as to view the frescoes: J.T.Smith described in Nollekins & his Times a drawing by Richard Wilson 'which is particularly interesting, since it contains Wilson's own figure, seated on the ground in his bag-wig, making a drawing of Raffaelle's villa'.⁴⁵ The rooms were open to the public: in 1770 Charles Burney noted that it was also 'occupied by a Mr. Wiseman, a worthy Music-Master and Copyist, a native of England' who gave weekly concerts during the winter months, and John Ramsay in 1783 'took a walk to the Villa Olgiati where there is a room painted in Arabesques by Raffael and exceedingly well worth seeing'.⁴⁶

There is, unfortunately, little evidence of More's sketching activities except from his extant drawings; his attitudes to Nature, and his ideas about the relationship of studies to finished oil works are unknown. His opinions on Landscape paintings, and their status in art, are far clearer, as will be shown in the following paragraphs.

(iv) The Status of More's landscapes: themes and figures

These last pages have dealt with More's attitude to the craft of painting, ideas which probably developed long after his intuitive abilities had already produced earlier works of great merit. Little is recorded of his general theories, but there is one brief passage in a draft letter to ^{Sir} George Beaumont in which More went against current art principles in maintaining that landscape was as high a form of art as any other type of painting, and that it was the highest possible expression of the Sublime, having

'more Variety and perhaps more of the Sublime than any other branch of Painting a dreadful Hurricane, a Sea Storm, a Deluge Volcano, etc are objects more sublime, tremendous than the Passion or rage of any object that be in the Human form'. 47

Landscape was generally considered to be the lowest of the three main categories of painting, History and Portraiture being the first two. This was not only the attitude of the critics and the theorists but also of the general public for whom More provided his paintings: the Encyclopaedia Britannica of 1771 had defined Landskip as

'the view or prospect of a country, extended as far as the eye will reach.

Landskips are esteemed one of the lowest branches of painting, representing some rural scene, as hills, valleys, rivers, country-houses, etc. where human figures are only introduced as accidents'.⁴⁸

To raise the level of a landscape to that of a history painting, historical episodes could be included: More did this in several of his landscapes, such as the Apollo and Daphne in the Villa Borghese (discussed pp. 239-44). The critical reviews of lost paintings such as these, and an examination of the later extant subject paintings, such as ^{The} Rest on the Flight (Plate 37), would indicate that More had hardly succeeded in transforming the genre of the painting, only its nominal title. The figures are in general poorly executed, and it is only in the paintings which do not aspire to a higher status, such as the Scottish landscapes, that they succeed.

More was perhaps attempting too much in trying to raise the academic status of his works: even the Old Masters had been dealt with harshly for attempting this. Richardson wrote of figures in landscapes in 1722

'If there are Any, and 'tis necessary there should be, Generally speaking, they must be Suitable, and only Subservient to the Landskip, to Enrich, or Animate it; Otherwise the Picture loses its Denomination, it becomes History, a Battal-piece, &c. or at least 'tis of an Equivocal kind ... I think Poussin has sometimes Err'd in the Figures he has put into his Landskips ... Let the Figures, or the Landskip be apparently Principal; but two contending Powers of Equal Consideration in a Picture, as well as in a State, will create Disturbance, and Confusion'. 49

Reynolds reiterated this view, saying of Claude that he 'had shewn more discretion, if he had never meddled with such subjects', and of Richard Wilson that 'His landskips were in reality too near common nature to admit supernatural objects'.⁵⁰ Thus the subjects as well as the style of More's earlier paintings would have appealed to Reynolds more than the later ones. The figures in the later landscapes are extremely close to Claudian models: they have the same wooden poses, doll-like pallor and large, dark-ringed eyes to give them prominence at a distance. Claude's figures do not always fit happily into the landscape - the Landscape with Apollo and the Muses (National Gallery of Scotland)⁵¹ is a good example of this - and Louis Zentner, writing on Claude's paintings in 1791, found some figures to be of such poor quality that he suspected (perhaps correctly) that they had been done by another hand.⁵² More received the same type of criticism: Thomas Watkins considered that the figures of the Apollo and Daphne in the Villa Borghese were so poor that they had been inserted by a 'miserable dauber'.⁵³

More's figures are most successful when, to quote Edward Dayes, they 'enter into and make part of the Scene; and are not brought in as mere accompaniments';⁵⁴ certainly the figures described in the Deluge and Storm scenes would seem to be of this type. The best figures in More's extant paintings are those that are the least defined. The heavy, crouching figure of Salisbury Crags and St. Anthony's Chapel, Edinburgh (Plate 2) and the distorted shapes of Stonebyres I (Plate 17) and the Shepherdess (Plate 58), painted in the same colours as the landscape and often busy about their work, serve to focus attention on the scene rather than to detract from it. The figures in Corra Linn I

and II show an interesting development from local to mythological characters, though in many of the later Italian landscapes the figures are people in local costume. Stock poses are repeated, though they seem to be put in by necessity of convention rather than through any interest on the part of the artist, such as those in the Licenza series (Plate 25). One very interesting exception is the hermit figure of Tivoli (Plate 63), which is probably borrowed from a painting by Richard Wilson (see pp.190-1). The reviewers lavished great praise on More's figures; they certainly had more individuality than the stock poses of peasants and washerwomen which crowd into the foreground of Hackert's paintings. More himself made only one recorded mention of them: writing to Harvey in April 1786, he stated that the figures (in his Apollo and Daphne for the Villa Borghese) were much superior to those in two of his works in a recent exhibition⁵⁵ - they were indeed praised lavishly by the reviewer, (see pp.241-2), an opinion in great contrast to that of Watkins, quoted above.

(v) Media

More worked in oil, watercolour and gouache, and in ink, black chalk and pencil. Later in his career he also produced works in pastel, and he referred to drawings done in 'crayon'. The first mention of 'crayon' drawings is in a letter from William Sandys to Lord Cowper in 1780, in which Sandys wrote of 'two Views of Vesuvius, done in crayons', by More, of a large size.⁵⁶ More himself referred to '3 Crayon drawings frames and Glasses' which he had completed in 1786.⁵⁷ These may have been pastel drawings - though the pastels could have been a later experiment: in a letter from More to his Edinburgh friend, the

artist George Walker, in May 1793, More said he was sending

'four Drawings in tinted Colours, a View of the Eruption of Vesuvius in the Year 1779 and the Companion a View of the Cascade at the outside of Neptuns Grotto which takes in the Sybils Temple &c. these are done on in body Pastell Colours which have all the Effect of oile painting, they please much and I am persuded that they will give You Satisfaction as Watter Colours cannot produce neither that Force nor Softness that they have'. 58

Unfortunately none of the 'crayon' or pastel works survive, but they were noted by another of More's contemporaries. The German painter Johann Heinrich Wilhelm Tischbein (1751-1810) noted in his autobiography that 'More made his studies of air in pastel, in case they would fade',⁵⁹ which would imply that More had produced quite a few examples in the medium. George Walker himself worked in More's experimental method when preparing illustrations for Cririe's Scottish Scenery of 1803; in a letter to his publishers he discussed his works which

'are all painted on a ground of pumice Stone agreeably to the Valuable Recipe Sent me from Rome by the late Jacob More along with the pictures he executed for me in that way which is far Superior to every other mode both in point of durability complete retention of the Colours & its admitting of a high degree of finishing'.⁶⁰

Apart from this, More's techniques and materials were not in any way unusual. His emphasis on the careful finish and physical quality of the articles he produced were perhaps due to his early training as a goldsmith. His phraseology^{is} quite telling: he wrote in a letter to Smith Barry in 1787, 'having now finish'd Your two Pictures which I

have done with the greatest care and Attention ...'.⁶¹ The later paintings are generally in good condition today, with clear colours and only a few spiral cracks; even the Self-Portrait, which hangs in the Vasari Corridor, half-way across the Arno river in the Ponte Vecchio in Florence, has not been damaged by changing temperatures or humidity.⁶² More took great pride in the framing of the paintings, which may also reflect his early training, his prices 'including a handsom Gilded Frame'.⁶³ Several fine frames survive today - such as those of the Landscape (1780), the Langford-Brooke pair (c.1783), and the Morning and Evening in Glasgow (1785). The high quality of the frames is demonstrated by references in later sales catalogues: two of More's paintings included in David Martin's sale in 1799 were described as having an 'oval carved and gilt frame' and 'Superb carved and gilt frame'.⁶⁴ The frames were made in Italy as an additional protection on the journey to London, but they were also becoming a thing of fashion in themselves. Until the mid-eighteenth century frames had been of little significance - Northcote reported that Sir Joshua Reynolds had used extremely thin frames, less than two inches in depth, and that he re-used them until they looked worn; he accused Lawrence of having 'brought up this fashion of having such expensive frames'.⁶⁵ This allegation was repudiated by Whitley, who quoted an interesting letter published in the Morning Chronicle of 1781 which criticised exhibitions (such as that of the Royal Academy) of enticing artists to 'produce effects', including 'massy gold frames' which were so elaborate that 'the carver rather than the artist deservedly claims our attention'.⁶⁶ An engraving after a drawing by Ramberg of the Royal Academy Exhibition in 1787 shows both plain and elaborate frames;⁶⁷ it would suggest that More was therefore intent on showing his paintings to the best

advantage, but not necessarily overstepping the limits of contemporary taste in this matter.

(vi) Commercial success: prices of More's work

More's huge commercial success can be gauged by his ever-increasing prices - a critic in 1793 wrote that 'his pictures bring a higher price than those of Claude de Lorraine'.⁶⁸ The first recorded prices are extremely low: he painted 'four small landships for Mr George Loch ... at £5 each'⁶⁹ in Rome in the mid-1770s. He had still to make his mark in the Roman artistic community - and since Loch came from Edinburgh and had lived with More in Rome, More may not have been charging a commercial rate anyway. By 1782 he was making large sums of money: writing to Lord Cowper, he quoted his large-size works as 'a hundred Guineas which is the Price M^r Hackert had for that Size', saying that his business had 'greatly Increas'd'.⁷⁰ He put his prices up again the following year, and in 1785 quoted the prices of his three basic sizes (to Thomas Harvey) as a hundred guineas for 6'9" by 5'2", sixty guineas for 4'7" by 3'3", and thirty guineas for 2'11½" x 2'2" (in British money) each sum including the frame.⁷¹ By June 1787 the price of the largest size had risen to a hundred and twenty guineas.⁷² In 1793, in a letter to George Walker he quoted the three sizes at a hundred and twenty, eighty, and thirty-five guineas, adding

'I generally Confine my self to these three Sizes and the most of my Commissions are for the Large Size'. 73

These prices were not much lower than those which Gainsborough and Reynolds were charging.⁷⁴ At the sale of More's effects at Christie's in 1793 the only oil painting by him went for £110-5-0.⁷⁵

There is little evidence of the prices of More's watercolours, though in 1786 he sold six to Thomas Harvey for £24-0-0;⁷⁶ like most eighteenth-century artists, he probably did not consider watercolours or drawings to be of much value.

More does not seem to have been a great theorist: his admiration for Claude was typical of many artists in the eighteenth century, and his high opinion of the status of landscape painting a natural result of his chosen sphere of artistic activity. In the practical aspects of his work, however, he demonstrated originality of ideas, and his confident advice to his patrons shows that he had studied and experimented with colour techniques in some depth. He was particularly concerned with finish and presentation, perhaps a legacy of his early goldsmith's training, and he was always anxious to make sure that his productions were objects of high market value as well as creations of artistic merit.

e. Colleagues and Pupils in Rome

In order to evaluate fully More's place and status in the development of landscape painting in eighteenth-century Rome, it is necessary to compare his career with that of two other principal landscape painters, Hackert and Labruzzi, both of whom are mentioned at various points in this thesis.

The career of the Prussian artist Philipp Hackert (1737-1807) in many aspects parallels that of More.¹ He arrived in Rome in the early 1770s, and attracted the patronage of the Grand Tourists with his idealised visions of the Italian landscape. By the late 1780s shared patrons and competition for commissions had put them into the position of rivals. In the 1770s Allan Ramsay had employed More as a draughtsman on his archaeological project, but in the 1780s he consulted Hackert with a view to using his engravings of the area.² Lord Bristol bought a painting from each artist in 1780, of similar size and theme.³ More mentions Hackert only once in his extant correspondence, but the entry is very significant: writing to Cowper in 1782, he justified raising his fee by saying it was now 'the Price M^r. Hackert had for that Size'.⁴ The following year Hackert appears to have used a composition by More for one of his own paintings.⁵ In an anonymous journal of a tour in Rome (among the Arundell papers) a visitor noted in 1784 that Hackert and More were now recognised as the two foremost landscape painters in the city.⁶ Hackert seems to have been rather like More in character - a competent artist who was content to produce repetitive scenes for a good market, a shrewd businessman, and an ambitious social climber. Goethe, who was an admirer of both artists,

described Hackert as 'a man of great determination and intelligence who, though an inveterate hard worker, knows how to enjoy life'.⁷ He also described Hackert's facility of execution - he was 'a master at copying Nature and has such a sure hand that he never has to correct a drawing'.⁸ Later in his life, Goethe compared the achievement of the two artists: he thought that More 'was less successful than Hackert with trees and foregrounds, but had on the whole a milder, more fragrant colouring and in general more harmony'.⁹ Goethe, like many Northern artists, found the crowded and detailed foregrounds of Hackert's paintings particularly attractive; Thomas Jones recorded Hackert's own views on this, when he received a visit from him and

'He was pleased to pay many Compliments on my progressive Improvement in paying due attention to the Detail - that is to say, minute finishing, which by the bye, was more congenial to his own taste, who like most German Artists, study more the Minutiae than the grand principles of Art'. 10

Jones's opinion of Hackert's character recalled some of the less kindly comments made on More's social ambitions:

'I may here observe that there never was, perhaps, a man who was more endued with the Talent of making People believe that he was the greatest Genius that ever existed ... He had the Address to insinuate himself into the good graces of half the Princes in Europe, from some of whom he received Pensions, particularly the Empress of Russia, and King of Naples ... Posterity will more impartially judge of his real merit'. 11

It was perhaps More's success in Rome that prompted Hackert to move to Naples, where he won the patronage of Sir William Hamilton, the British envoy, as well as the court.¹² In 1787 Goethe noted that

Hackert had been the 'prime mover' in the King of Naples's plans to build a museum to house the royal art collections.¹³ He became the semi-official court painter, living in a wing of the Francavilla Palace,¹⁴ and becoming sufficiently intimate with Hamilton to show Goethe his collection.¹⁵ An odd parallel with More is that Hackert painted a series of views of the English garden at Caserta, while More had created a garden of a similar type in Rome.¹⁶ From the 1780s, British visitors to Italy note Hackert less in their journals as he worked increasingly for his fellow-countrymen, Russians and Danes. Comparisons made between him and More became almost defensively nationalistic: Count Stolberg, having praised More's work fulsomely in 1792, felt bound to add a totally unfounded caveat:

'The trees and foliage of this painter, however, do not wave and breathe, with that pure life of nature, which Hackert has the art to communicate. Neither do I discover, in More, the same aerial and linear perspective, not those charming distances, which continually surprise me, in the pictures of Hackert'.¹⁷

The talents of these two artists certainly lay in opposite directions: Hackert excelled at depicting minute topographical detail, with little ability or interest in colour and atmosphere, while More's artistic priorities were the reverse.

A very different type of landscape painter who also had connections with More through patronage was Carlo Labruzzi (1748-1817), one of the very few Italian artists in Rome who worked extensively as a landscape painter at this time.¹⁸ His drawing style is very similar to that of More's, with hasty, wavering pencil lines and a light touch (eg. The

Appian Way series). The only major difference is that in Labruzzi's work the foliage is generally rather precise and detailed. The oil paintings tend to be predominantly green in colour, with a style of handling similar to that of Ducros' formal and meticulous watercolours; Miss Berry remarked in 1784 that 'his Drawings seem good and are pleasing, his Pictures too green and gaudy',¹⁹ while Sir Richard Colt Hoare (including him in a list of artists in Rome) considered that he 'paints Landscapes very well, and makes good bold drawings of the Views near Rome'.²⁰ Hoare employed him to make a series of watercolours of the Appian Way,²¹ and Prince Borghese commissioned him to paint an Apollo and Daphne to hang opposite More's work of the same title in the Villa Borghese.²² He was well known to the British Grand Tourists, who were his principal patrons, and his studio was one of those included in the British visitors' customary tours of studios in Rome.²³ Several watercolours hitherto attributed to More may in fact be by Labruzzi;²⁴ much of his work, like More's, is now lost.

More seems to have worked without assistants, and there is no record of his ever having had any pupils; in his extant correspondence he only makes one brief reference to a younger artist who may possibly have been an assistant, though he could have been a pupil, or simply in More's employment: in a draft letter to ^{Sir} George Beaumont of 1786 he wrote:

'My Young man has turn out an Excellent Portrait Painter and has made some Admirable Copies from Titian in oill Particularly the Sabastiano at Monte Cavalo, the [?] and the Amore Profane in the Borghese which the Apearance of originale, has finishd the Gloudiator in Tinted Paper with Chalk which I intend to send You and one of the Niobes Children which I think You mentiond'. 25

More did not name the 'Young man' but there is at least one possible identification, that of Henry Raeburn (1756-1823), who, like More, was an apprentice goldsmith from Edinburgh turned painter, studying in Rome from 1784 to 1786.²⁶ Little is known of his activities in Rome, and the experience seems to have had little influence on his development as a painter.²⁷

Another young Scotsman who is much more likely to have been a pupil of More is Alexander Nasmyth (1758-1840), the artist who inherited More's position as the principal painter of the Scottish landscape towards the end of the century.²⁸ Originally apprenticed to a coachpainter, he studied at the Trustees' Academy in Edinburgh under More's old master, Alexander Runciman. In 1774 Allan Ramsay was so impressed by his abilities that he took him to London as his assistant; he was in Italy from 1782 to 1784, living near More in Rome, studying and copying portraits and landscapes.²⁹ In 1783 the dealer James Byres wrote to Philip Yorke, saying that Nasmyth 'is determined to follow landscape painting, and is at the present copying a fine picture of mine by Claude Lorraine', and adding that the landscapes which Yorke had commissioned from More would be dispatched shortly, along with a copy Nasmyth had made of a Guido Reni.³⁰ A painting attributed to More, Rest on the Flight, may well be by Nasmyth, working under the influence of More's style (see p.118, and Plate 59). Later in his career Nasmyth built the Temple of St. Bernard's Well on the Water of Leith, Edinburgh, for one of More's patrons, Lord Gardenstone; the Temple was based on the Sibyl's Temple at Tivoli, a frequent subject of More's paintings (see pp.188-9). He also carried out landscaping work.³¹ His painting style developed very differently from

More's, however, as he became increasingly influenced by Dutch models; like Gainsborough, he also took to making small-scale indoor models for his compositions, a complete antithesis to More's imaginative approach (a typical example of his mature style is shown Plate V).³²

Despite his colleagues and rivals, More maintained an extremely personal style and method in his work, confident in his market and his own abilities. It was perhaps his social isolation, and the absence of any long-term pupils, which caused such a great neglect of his work so soon after his death.

CHAPTER SIX

THE ITALIAN WATERFALL PAINTINGS

a. Background

'me nec tam patiens Lacedaemon
nec tam Larisae percussit campus opimae,
quam domus Albuneae resonatis
et praeceps Anio ac Tiburni Lucus et uda
mobilibus pomaria rivis'. (Horace) 1

'This small spot, which is not above seven
miles in circumference contains more
picturesque scenes & a greater variety of
objects than any other place I have ever
seen'. (Sir Richard Colt Hoare, Bart.) 2

The paintings of Tivoli and Terni are a particularly important group in More's oeuvre, for they have been judged by both contemporary and modern critics as original and successful works, unlike many of his other more commercially-produced later paintings. Whatever formulae More may have used in his design and technique, he brought to these paintings a considerably greater understanding of aerial perspective and falling water than did his contemporaries, and his ability to convey the delicacy and mistiness of haze and spray is a complete contrast to his often wooden rendering of the topography of the landscape.

Tivoli and Terni, towns famous for their classical associations and their magnificent waterfalls, had long been a source of inspiration for artists and poets - particularly Tivoli, only about twenty miles from Rome.³ The three seventeenth-century painters held by More's contemporaries to be the greatest masters of landscape,

Claude, Rosa, and Gaspard Dughet, had all produced numerous interpretations of the Tivoli area - Claude, with serene generalised compositions, the different elements often juxtaposed to form capricci; Rosa, inspired by the crags, caverns and waterfalls to produce mysterious and menacing interpretations of nature; and Gaspard Dughet, more faithful to reality, fascinated by the texture and atmosphere of foliage, rocks, water and sky.⁴ Visitors to the area from northern Europe were sufficiently conversant with their works to view the scene with reference to their paintings. Sir James Smith was typical of many travellers in noting that

'Sometimes the landscape with the buildings of Tivoli, the temple, and the vast plain of Rome beyond, resembles a picture of Poussin's; in other points of view, with the noble cascades and rocks, and the towering mountains above, it recalls the more majestic scenes of Salvator Rosa'. 5

All the landscape artists visiting Rome went to sketch at Tivoli, though until the mid-eighteenth century they were not particularly interested in the waterfalls, or the spectacular natural features later to be termed the Sublime.⁶ One exception was Joos de Momper (1564-1635), a Flemish artist More himself noted in his correspondence (see p.161), who anticipated More's own free handling of paint in his delineation of falling water and foliage.⁷ Piranesi promoted the 'Sublime' elements of Tivoli with a print of 1766 which showed how the river and waterfall were slowly eating away the foundations of the town, an essay in magnificent decay.⁸

The British artists of the eighteenth century not only viewed the

scenery through the eyes of the Old Masters, but also with a new sense of detachment and objectivity, working with reference to older models rather than simply imitating them. Johnathan Skelton and Richard Wilson were among the first generation of British artists to 're-discover' the scene.⁹ In 1766 James Northall noted the large number of painters coming from Rome; More's Edinburgh master Alexander Runciman, and Thomas Jones, both sketched at Tivoli (Runciman described it as 'the most romantick place in the world').¹⁰ Not only were British artists thus inspired - artists from other countries, particularly from France, also studied in the area.¹¹ The non-artist visitors, who constituted the chief source of commissions for paintings of Tivoli, had also changed their attitudes. Early in the century, the antiquarian interest had been predominant: Johnathan Richardson, in his Account of 1722, did not describe the waterfalls, but recorded the words inscribed over the capital of the first pillar of the 'Sibyl's' Temple, hitherto 'not taken notice of by any Author that I know of ... From this Temple one sees the Cascade of Tivoli on One Side, on the Other is the Villa of Catullus; and beyond it that of Horace',¹² and Edward Wright in his Observations of 1730 devoted a full page engraving to the Temple, while totally neglecting the waterfall at its base.¹³ But by the 1770s, the waterfalls themselves were the chief objects of interest. Mrs. Miller, one of the early tourists equipped with the modern concepts of Picturesque landscape, described the Falls in the late 1760s as 'romantic and picturesque',¹⁴ and anticipated later developments when she remarked that 'I am surprised it [the Temple] has not been copied in some of the fine gardens of England'.¹⁵

Like many visitors, she failed to clamber down to view the other

famous Falls at Terni; being difficult of access, they were still a prize for the agile enthusiast prepared to negotiate a dangerous descent.¹⁶ They were equally well known, however, and reckoned to be the highest in Europe; Richard Wilson is reported to have said, when confronted with the sight, 'Well done water by God'.¹⁷ Thomas Patch painted at least two views of the scene, both showing the Falls lit up dramatically by a shaft of sunlight; the version reproduced here, in the National Museum of Wales, Cascade near Terni (oil on canvas, 120.3 x 87.0 cm, s. & d. 'T Patch f 1764', Plate 60) shows that his treatment of the scene is still in the topographical tradition rather than the romantic style, though he does include a hermit figure in the left foreground of the picture.¹⁸ It is interesting to note the similarities between contemporary descriptions of Italian waterfalls and of those which More had painted in Scotland. Tobias Smollett described the Fall at Terni in 1765 thus:

'Such a body of water rushing down the mountain; the smoke, vapour, and thick white mist which it raises; the double rainbow which these particles continually exhibit while the sun shines; the deafening sound of the cataract; the vicinity of a great number of other stupendous rocks and precipices, with the dashing, boiling, and foaming of the two rivers below, produce altogether an object of tremendous sublimity'.¹⁹

John Owen found that 'It is impossible, to regard without dizziness, the extreme velocity',²⁰ and a French guidebook of 1773 stated that 'The paintings which travellers have made of it are not exaggerated'.²¹

An indication of how extraordinary a hold these Italian waterfalls had on the imagination of the British public is shown in the first

edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica, published in Edinburgh in 1771, which defined 'Cascade' as 'either natural, as that at Tivoli, etc. or artificial, as those of Versailles, etc.', and William Mason, in his poem The English Garden, exhorted British landscape gardeners in 1780 to 'Produce new TIVOLIS'.²² But, as with Vesuvius, it was only the foreign travellers who were so enthusiastic about this element of Italian landscape;²³ Tivoli held little attraction for the Italians, and Thomas Watkins wrote

'Were Tivoli in England, it would have as many inhabitants as when Maecenas dwelt there; but the modern Roman has no taste for rural scenery. He never visits the country, but when the suffocating heat of the capital compels him to leave it'. 24

An Italian guide to Terni of 1779 discussed only the classical connections with the Fall, and even in 1790 an Italian writer acknowledged his countrymen's lack of interest in their own landscape.²⁵

The special attraction the area held for the British was due to the fortuitous combination of Picturesque scenery, spectacularly Sublime effects, antique remains, classical literary associations, and modern attractions such as the Villa d'Este - 'the One an immense production of Art & the Other a wonderful One of Nature' wrote Thomas Jones of the Villa and the Falls.²⁶ But above all it was the 'Sibyl's' Temple, symbol of Tivoli and the Campagna, which had become the most enduring image in British minds. For a long time architects had come to study and draw it (Palladio, Adam, Piranesi, and Dance being a few examples).²⁷ The temple was used in capriccio landscape paintings by numerous artists (eg. Gainsborough, Hackert and Turner), and a cork

model was sent by the dealer Thomas Jenkins to the British Museum.²⁸ More's eccentric patron Lord Bristol typically tried to outdo everyone in the fashion. In the late 1770s the Mussenden Temple (a folly dedicated to his cousin Mrs. Mussenden), was erected at Downhill; one report suggests that Lord Bristol had originally intended to re-erect the actual temple of Tivoli in his own grounds (see p.269). Another British version was that of St. Bernard's Well, erected on the Water of Leith in Edinburgh. It was designed by Alexander Nasmyth, who may have studied with More in Rome (see p.182), and was built in 1789. Nasmyth himself painted it: the view, known as St. Bernard's Well (oil on canvas, 69.0 x 88.0 cm, Georgian House, Edinburgh, National Trust for Scotland), has a noticeably pinky glow which is very reminiscent of More's own Italian landscapes. Stoddart, visiting Scotland at the end of the century, noted unprompted its similarity with the classical original, its 'outline evidently taken from the celebrated Sybil's Temple at Tivoli ... [it] seemed to be introduced, as into a picture, by the felicitous pencil of Claude'.²⁹

b. More's Waterfall Paintings

Many Italian waterfall paintings by More are recorded: the generality of the titles (eg. Falls of Tivoli) renders the identification of all recorded works impossible; it is also difficult to determine which paintings are general landscape views of the Tivoli area and which are specifically views of waterfalls. In contrast to the series of Scottish waterfall paintings, More's Italian scenes are far from original in subject-matter or design, and he concentrated his talents on theatrical lighting and glowing colour effects instead. There are

four known extant oil paintings of the Falls of Tivoli and Terni - an undated, small-size work which probably belongs to the mid-1780s, two large canvasses of 1788, and another large painting of 1790.¹

The unsigned and undated painting is probably the earliest: known as Falls of Tivoli, it appeared in a London saleroom in 1962, and is now in a private collection. It is an example of the smallest size in which More generally worked in Italy (oil on canvas, 73.7 x 99.0 cm, Plates 61, 62 and 63);² it was probably not exhibited - the only exhibited work which would even approximately describe it is the View of the Campagna from Tivoli with Maecenas's villa and the Cascatella shown at the Royal Academy in 1783 (207), which does not mention the Fall itself. More could paint falling water very naturally (as is shown by his Falls of Clyde series), but here the decorative aspects of the phenomenon are more important and the water seems to drift over the rocks in a feathery, insubstantial glide, the spray forming a pinkish mist which suffuses the whole composition. Unlike most of the pastoral landscapes, the composition is not divided into different planes of interest: instead of the usual foreground figures, there is just one hermit figure, who is part of the scene rather than an onlooker. Both the fall and the figure are dramatically lit by the sunset behind the hilltown, the buildings silhouetted against the light. The hermit with his staff, his face hidden under a hood, sets the atmosphere of the scene. More had used hermit figures in other landscapes, but only as additional decorative figures (eg. Landscape of 1780, Plate 27, and Morning of 1785, Plate 34); Thomas Patch had also included one in his Terni of 1764, (Plate 60). But in this painting the hermit creates a mood of mystery, and transforms a real

location into a landscape of the imagination. The figure, whose face is hidden from the viewer, stands isolated in the grandeur of the scene, not himself observing any of it, being a natural part of it. The figure has great similarities with the hermit in Richard Wilson's Solitude, which had been engraved by Woollett in 1778 and dedicated to More's patron Sir George Beaumont.³ The influence of Wilson, the relaxed handling of the water, and the original, imaginative design, would all suggest that it is not a late painting. It has the pinky glow of More's mature style (his Tiber Estuary of 1784 is similar, though somewhat brighter, in its colour scheme), but it does not have the schematic design of foreground figures, tree trunks and animals common in the late works; it is therefore most likely to date from the early 1780s.

The two large paintings of 1788 are a pair, the Falls of Terni: Moonlight and Cascade at Tivoli at Sunset (both oil on canvas, 204.0 x 175.0 cm, Plates 64 and 65); the Tivoli is signed and dated 'Jacob More, Rome, 1788'. Both are in the collection of Lord Spencer at Althorp (not available for study).⁴ They were commissioned in Rome by the second Earl Spencer.⁵ In January 1786 More wrote to Thomas Harvey that one of his paintings (perhaps the Apollo and Daphne in the Villa Borghese of 1785) had enjoyed such success that Lord Spencer had ordered two as a result; in a letter from More to Spencer of January 1789, still in the manuscript collection at Althorp, More asked Lord Spencer for permission to exhibit the two paintings at the Royal Academy (the Terni is thus probably the Moonlight exhibited in 1789).⁶ The two canvasses, of the same dimensions as the Apollo and Daphne, are examples of More's work at its most sublime; the basic topographical

elements are true to nature, but the compositions have been distorted with shifted angles to create theatrical tableaux, with waterfalls apparently much larger than they actually are. Both the Falls are seen from a distance, with trees and figures in a separate foreground plane. In Falls of Terni, one of the three foreground figures gesticulates to the Fall, another sits under the shattered tree, while the third scrambles up onto the ledge of rock. The centre of the composition is brilliantly lit, the moon and the two stages of the Falls forming a column of bright light down the centre of the composition. The pool into which the water falls is hidden behind the jagged central rock; the broader lower waterfall distances it from the foreground plane. The foreground tree is twisted and shattered, and the bright light cold and silvery - it is a scene of sublime terror rather than of beauty. The patterning of the moonlit clouds is similar to that of the engraving of the lost Moonlight (Plate 54), with thin, horizontal streaks of white cloud. The height of the rocks and the foaming mists are no exaggerations on More's part. A guidebook of 1787 described the spray which 'mounts again almost as high as the top of the cascade';⁷ to Sir James Smith it looked 'like wool or cotton as it falls',⁸ and to a writer of 1815 it resembled 'millions of curled white feathers'.⁹ A comparison with Thomas Patch's Picturesque version of 1764 shows how skilfully More has managed to create an imaginary, romantic landscape while still adhering to topographical truth. The Cascade of Tivoli at Sunset is a much more typical late 1780s composition. In the foreground right is a large, decorative tree reaching the full height of the canvas, with figures beneath:- a shepherd resting on his staff, a man playing with a child, and a seated woman. Tivoli and the Falls are shown in the middle distance,

bathed in a rosy glow from the sunset, which illuminates the plain beyond. The water falls in a peaceful veil of colour, and there is hardly any sense of movement in the composition, a great contrast to the power and force displayed in the companion painting.

The fourth painting, traced in the course of this study, is the large-size Falls of Tivoli (oil on canvas, 147.0 x 203.0 cm, Plates 66, 67 and 57), signed and dated 'Jacob More, Roma, 1790', a companion to the River Landscape of the same date (see pp. 121-2). It is a capriccio painting in that the topographical recording of the buildings above the Fall are incorrect, but its basic composition is very similar to the first Falls of Tivoli discussed in this section. It is completely different in colour, however, being predominantly pastel blue and mauve in contrast to its companion, which is mainly in oranges and yellows. Like its companion, it appears to be a hastily-produced work for which the artist has simply repeated early compositions without any thought for originality. Both of the figures by the water are stock poses; in the shadow to the left is another tramp-like figure, like the hermit in the Evening of 1785.

Another large-scale waterfall painting, attributed to More, is The Falls of Terni, with figures on the bank in the foreground (oil on canvas, 180.0 x 118.0 cm, Plate 68), formerly in the possession of Col. M.H. Grant.¹⁰ It was sold in 1967 and its present whereabouts are unknown, thus critical judgements must be made on the basis of photographs. The composition with its hard outlines, the flaky, frothy texture of the water, and the complete absence of the mistiness characteristic of More's waterfall paintings, would all suggest that

it is not in fact by his hand. There is, however, a painting by Jan Frans van Bloemen (who is discussed p.160), entitled Landscape with Waterfall (oil on canvas, 93.0 x 155.0 cm, Plate 69),¹¹ in the Doria-Pamphilj Gallery, Rome, of which the central area is extremely similar to the work attributed to More. The figures in van Bloemen's painting are different - but those in another van Bloemen of the same title in the same collection are almost identical.¹² It is just possible that More copied from these paintings,¹³ but the general design and handling are so different from his style that this seems unlikely. Van Bloemen repeated many of his compositions, and the similarities which appear in many of his landscapes make it reasonable to assume that the work attributed to More is in fact by him.

Although the earliest extant Italian waterfall painting dates from the 1780s, More was recorded painting waterfalls early in his Italian career. In 1779 Herbert saw 'a view of the Caduta della Marmore near Terni',¹⁴ in his studio, and the following year Canova noted a 'Falls of Terni' and 'Maecenas's Villa at Tivoli';¹⁵ in 1783 More exhibited a view of the Cascade at Terni at the Royal Academy.

The three watercolours discussed fully in this section are all in the National Gallery of Scotland. The Waterfall at Tivoli (ink and brown wash over pencil, 47.4 x 37.1 cm, NGS D282, Plate 70)¹⁶ is executed in a straightforward topographical style. The town is shown on the cliffs, the temples delineated with the minimum of architectural detail. Most of the Fall itself is hidden behind the rocks forming the 'wall' of Neptune's Grotto, the enclosed pool at the bottom of the

Fall. The composition is constructed in three distinct planes - the pale background buildings, the rocks and spray in the middle distance, and the very heavily toned foreground figures who discuss the scene from a safe distance. The handling of the rocks and water, though highly stylised, is delicate in touch, and the angle of vision is unusual, giving the Fall itself a quality of mystery by its inaccessibility. The woodenness of the figures seems mundane, however, and the laboured handling of the tree and foreground foliage lacks interest.

By contrast, the View of the Inside of Neptune's Grotto, Tivoli¹⁷ (ink and brown wash over pencil, 66.6 x 53.3 cm, NGS D281, Plate 71), departs from the generally topographical nature of More's watercolours in its atmospheric interpretation of water and spray, and shows an interest in the drama and power of the Fall which is totally lacking in the previous composition. A solitary foreground figure sits on a rock with his arm outstretched in awe; the water crashes down into the middle of the composition, creating a mist of spray which clothes all the rocks around.¹⁸ The figure is not outside the scene he witnesses, but part of it: the rocks arch above him, enclosing him in a secret, cavernous world. As in Stonebyres I, More has used the presence of a solitary figure to lead the spectator into the picture without in any way detracting from the grandeur of the scene. Few artists depicted the Fall from this angle, though many went to sketch in the Grotto¹⁹ - William Pars was even said to have died of an illness caused by standing in the water to sketch from a particular viewpoint.²⁰

There is another large, but far less competent watercolour in the National Gallery of Scotland, entitled Cascade at Tivoli (watercolour over pencil, 72.1 x 51.6 cm, NGS D5029, Plate 72).²¹ It shows three men studying a waterfall, but it is only the delineation of the buildings which gives any indication of the locality, as the Fall itself is incongruously wide and shallow. The rock in the centre is one which appears in many of the paintings of both Tivoli and Terni, and even the non-specific waterfall of the early Good Samaritan.²² It is thus a puzzling composition, especially as an inscription on an old mount (perhaps in More's handwriting) reads 'View of the Great Cascade at Tivoli'. More's departure from topographical accuracy is greater than in any other composition of a named location, so much so that it is a capriccio rather than a portrait of a real place. The delineation of the water itself is in More's usual delicate, fluid style, though the foreground figures are stiff and laboured; the handling of the watercolour medium, and the general drawing, would however indicate that the work is definitely by More.

There are two other known extant watercolours of waterfall subjects: one is a Falls of Tivoli, companion to The Monument of the Curatii, sold in London in 1977,²³ and the other a Falls near Terni in the Yale Center for British Art.²⁴ More himself mentioned several versions of these scenes in his correspondence. In a letter accompanying a case sent to John McGowan in Edinburgh in 1786 he wrote:

'It contains four of my Large drawings, a View of Tivoli, Mecenases's Villi with the Cascatelli, which I beg you will accept of and give it a place in your Valuable Collection, 2^d a View of The Cascade of Terni for my friend M:^r Belcher 3^d a View of Temple of Tivoli and Campagna of Rome 4th one in Bister a View of Neptuns

Grotto at Tivoli ^{both} for my Sister, if the
 Bister maner pleases you I shall take the
 first oppertunity of sending you one ...' 25

The 'Neptun's Grotto' may be the NGS D281, and the watercolour for McGowan may have been that included in McGowan's sale in 1804 - 'A capital Italian landschape, with the Sybil's Temple, at Tivoli, and figures, by Jacob More, free pen and colours, one of the best of this excellent artist'.²⁶ In 1793 More sent another work to George Walker in Edinburgh, with an accompanying letter describing it as 'the Cascade at the outside of Neptuns Grotto which takes in the Sybils Temple &c.' in 'body Pastell'.²⁷ Two drawings, framed and glazed, were included in the sale of John Come in 1821, perhaps having passed to him from Harvey or Patteson, More's two Norwich patrons; they were listed as 'Pair of Drawings, the Interior and Exterior of Neptune's Grotto - Tivoli, by More'.²⁸ Several other waterfall subjects have been recorded in sales, though it is difficult to know if they are in oil or watercolour. Segulier lists a View of the Cascade at Tivoli sold in 1801, and two versions of A View near Tivoli, with Figures, sold between 1803 and 1816.²⁹ A Falls at Tivoli was sold in 1835, and a Falls at Terni in 1844.³⁰

It is interesting to compare More's productions with that of other artists working in Rome during the same period, often for the same patrons. More's friend Richard Cooper (see p.148) produced several watercolours of Tivoli,³¹ and ^{Sir} George Beaumont sketched there in the 1780s.³² Hackert generally interpreted the area in a clear, precise, topographical style, with an acute sense of scale and perspective but little feeling for the texture and atmosphere of the

rocks, foliage and water;³³ in the large oil works which are deliberately dramatic interpretations of the scenes the water looks like soapy froth, though they are successful as artificial, theatrical capricci.³⁴ Ducros produced a large number of Tivoli and Terni watercolours, magnificent in their size, detail and glowing blue-green colours; a series of the large-scale works, purchased by Sir Richard Colt Hoare, still hang in Stourhead today.³⁵ Carlo Labruzzi also produced several waterfall scenes, particularly of Terni, displaying an ability to convey the weight and texture of falling water with great skill.³⁶ John 'Warwick' Smith was perhaps the most prolific watercolourist of the two Falls, successfully combining the topographical accuracy of Hackert with much of the sfumato effects of More; his detailed panoramic works of the town of Tivoli with the waterfalls underneath are most like Hackert's work, while the looser, small-scale works have much in common with More.³⁷

As with the Falls of Clyde, the discovery and appreciation of the untouched scene brought tourists to the area, thus ruining the very wildness and romanticism that attracted earlier visitors. In 1789 Mrs. Piozzi had still been able to write of 'the Cascatelle, so sweetly elegant, so rural, so romantic'... and the 'scarcely-trodden path to Neptune's Grotto',³⁸ but by the early nineteenth century a path had been laid out on the formerly 'precipitous bank' by General Moillis, the French Governor of Rome.³⁹ Mrs. Piozzi had also enjoyed dining 'in the temple of the Sibylla Tiburtina',⁴⁰ but the tourists began to be less respectful of antique ruins: Sir James Smith noted that the walls of the adjoining temple were 'covered with excellent sketches in black chalk, by artists who have been there'.⁴¹ By 1802 the tourists

themselves were 'caricatured on the walls by English draughtsmen'.⁴² Tourists continued to visit the area even when the waterfalls began to be harnessed for power and diverted to avoid erosion of the town; in 1792 Sir William Forbes noted in his journal that the Falls were already at the mercy of 'those who have the management of the Mills; for the Millers set off the water at times ... This happened while we were actually employed in surveying the beautiful scene ... This is somewhat detrimental to the grandeur of the Landscape'.⁴³ Artists continued to come in great numbers for the next hundred years, however, and the area became a popular subject for Victorian prints.⁴⁴ The architecture of the 'Sibyl's Temple' not only reappeared in numerous gardens in Britain; when Sir John Soane used it to form a section of the Bank of England building in the early 1800s, the piece immediately became known as 'Tivoli Corner', a name it bears to this day.⁴⁵

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE VOLCANO PAINTINGS

a. Background

Jacob More enjoyed great success with his volcano paintings, theatrical tableaux of great drama which impressed his contemporaries with their startling power and brilliant colouring. In order to understand their immense popularity, and the huge praise they drew from art critics, it is necessary to see them in the context of eighteenth-century taste and ideas.

Throughout Europe, volcanoes were a popular subject of study and painting during the latter half of the eighteenth century, uniting three current cultural preoccupations - a growing interest in geology (carried out by gentlemen amateurs), in archaeology (stimulated by the excavations of Pompeii and Herculaneum, towns buried by the eruption of Vesuvius in A.D.79), and, above all, in the philosophical concept of the Sublime. The concept of the Sublime, and its counterpart, the Beautiful, had emerged from the philosophical discussions of early eighteenth-century philosophers, particularly by Addison and Shaftesbury. They were expanded in the new poetry of Nature of the 1730s and 1740s, in such works as Thomson's The Seasons (1726-9), Akenside's The Pleasures of the Imagination (1744) and Young's Night Thoughts (1742-5). The ideas were finally formalised by Edmund Burke in his A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful of 1756-7.¹ The Sublime was represented in all things terrible, violent and 'horrid' capable of producing emotions of awe and fear; by contrast

the Beautiful was demonstrated by gentle, smooth objects and prospects in Nature. Waterfalls could be both Sublime and Beautiful (as shown in More's contrasting Terni and Tivoli of 1788, Plates 64 and 65), but volcanoes were the most forceful examples of the Sublime. As early as 1733, James Thomson, in his poem Liberty, an attack on the lack of political freedom in Italy, had used Vesuvius as the image of the most dread forces of Nature in that country (though by contrast, not as dreadful as the lack of liberty):

'disaster'd less
By black Vesuvius thundering o'er the Coast
His midnight Earthquakes and his mining Fires ...'

(lines 281-3)²

He saw Vesuvius as a dark, malevolent force, and he emphasized the destruction and death the volcano could cause rather than the living forces it displayed. While it was poetry which stimulated general awareness of the Sublime in the first half of the century, painting made an equal contribution in the second. The increase in the number of British travellers making the Grand Tour and the introduction of watercolour painting led to a more direct observation of the less gentle aspects of nature; watercolour could record the full impact of the landscape with a detailed precision and yet capture delicate gradations of colour tone and aerial perspective, qualities difficult to manufacture in the studio. While maintaining the topographical tradition, artists such as J.R.Cozens were able to convey the vastness of the Alpine mountain ranges and valleys and the beauty of the blue-green haze of the Italian Campagna with the resting giant of Vesuvius above the fertile vineyards.³

Oil painters had already used the spectacular views in the theatre, concentrating on the effects of movement and bright colour and following the tradition of Salvator Rosa. The greatest exponent of the genre was Philip James de Loutherbourg, whose revolutionary stage lighting, with its silk screen transparencies, raking lights, and stage effects of moving clouds, fire and volcanic eruptions were probably familiar to More during his stay in London.⁴ De Loutherbourg arrived in London in 1771, and may not have produced his most spectacular productions while More was still living in Britain - but although he is generally credited with the introduction of brilliant scenic effects, other stage designers, notably Robert Carver, were already working in this genre. In December 1771 Carver provided sets for a production of The Witches at Drury Lane which anticipated the work of both de Loutherbourg and More: they were advertised thus -

'The first view of Mount Vesuvius represents it burning at a Distance, and is reflected by the Water in the Bay of Naples. The last is a nearer Land View of the Mount, and represents Torrents of Lava, like a River of Liquid Fire falling in a Cascade from a Rock, and is the exact Resemblance it had in the last Eruption of the Year 1769. The painting of these Scenes is executed by Mr. Carver'. 5

These scenic effects brought indoors the already popular entertainment of firework displays held to mark state occasions and public celebrations. The experts in this field were Italian, and highly respected professionals.⁶ In 1749 J.N.Servandoni set up a display to accompany the first performance of Handel's firework music,⁷ at which people were trampled underfoot in the excitement; in the 1750s Andrea Casali organised transparencies for fireworks in Hyde Park.⁸ Bonfire and firework entertainments were also popular at Windsor; several of

these were recorded by Paul Sandby.⁹ The phenomenon was just as popular on the continent, and countries with more flamboyant rulers than Britain's were treated to far more expensive enterprises: at the firework display held in Paris to celebrate the marriage of the Dauphin in 1770, a stampeding mob is said to have resulted in over five hundred deaths.¹⁰ But the greatest displays were the traditional annual festivities in Rome, where prominent buildings such as the Castel S. Angelo and St. Peter's were covered with fireworks (the holders are still in place today, as the tradition continued until modern times), the shows being as much architectural as pyrotechnical extravaganzas.¹¹ Robert Adam wrote that one such display which he witnessed 'exceeded for beauty, invention and grandeur anything I had ever seen or indeed could conceive'.¹² Sir James Smith gives us an idea of the scale of these shows in his description of the 1770s: 'About nine the grand display began by a vast fountain of fire, consisting of 4500 rockets discharged at once from the top of the castle.'¹³ His use of the word 'fountain' is not merely fortuitous, as the effect of making fire seem liquid was intentional; a few years earlier Canova had witnessed a display in Rome at which a 'simulated eruption of Vesuvius opened and closed the proceedings'.¹⁴

The volcano of Vesuvius obliged the eighteenth-century seekers of Sublimity by becoming increasingly active during the 1760s, and by putting on its greatest displays in the 1770s - when nearby Naples had become one of the great centres for British Grand Tourists and artists of every nation, and when the interest in volcanic eruptions and all things Sublime was reaching its height. Several prints and publications on Vesuvius were produced in the 1760s, andⁱⁿ 1771 Winckelmann published

his Critical Account of the Situation and Destruction by the first Eruptions of Mount Vesuvius, of Herculaneum, Pompeii and Stabia etc.,¹⁵

It was Sir William Hamilton, the British envoy to the Court of Naples from 1764 to 1798, who more than anyone else was responsible for the huge enthusiasm among the British visitors; an engaging and gregarious character, he became a personal friend of the King and Queen of Naples, and was given ample time and opportunity to indulge his curiosity and adventure as an amateur geologist.¹⁶ Vesuvius made an immediate impression on him when he first arrived from Britain: he climbed it frequently and studied its nature from both a philosophical and scientific aspect. He published his findings in Campi Phlegraei ...,¹⁷ the title being taken from the Roman name for this volcanic area, meaning 'Burnt Fields'. It was lavishly illustrated by colour prints by the Italian painter Fabris, and executed 'under my eye, and by my direction, with the utmost fidelity ...'.¹⁸ Fabris's prints certainly show the magnitude and force of the phenomena they represent, but they are still executed in the topographical tradition (though this is hardly a criticism of Fabris - he was illustrating a scientific book). The geological formations are emphasised and the colours are of necessity simple and clear, with little gradation of tone. It is interesting to note that the firework theme was continued into this description of volcanic activity; Hamilton observed that the lava formed 'a most beautiful and uncommon cascade',¹⁹ and that 'the mouth of the Volcano threw up every minute a girandole of red hot stones'²⁰ (the 'Girandola', meaning a Catherine Wheel, was the name of one of the Roman firework festivals).

How had the attitude to volcanoes changed in the minds of the

artists over this period? A brief comparison between the few representations of the Italian volcanoes Vesuvius and Etna before and after the 1750s answers this question very clearly. Until the mid-eighteenth century, Vesuvius was regarded as the unique 'backdrop' of the Bay of Naples - the trademark of the city. Records of eruptions had always been within the topographical tradition: Thomas Wyck (1616-77), when depicting the eruption of 1631 in which eighteen thousand people died, made no allusion to the tragedy in his Vesuvius in Eruption ^(Plate W), showing the volcano far away in the background behind the lighthouse and shipping in the foreground. People are busy going about their daily business, and if the volcano were represented as an inert mountain, the rest of the picture would not lose any coherence. Another depiction of the same eruption from Jean Bleau's Theatre d'Italie of 1704, records the phenomenon with a detached, scientific eye.²²

By the 1760s, however, volcanoes were becoming a popular subject for oil paintings, and many appeared in London exhibitions. One of the earliest was the Eruption of Vesuvius by Francesco Smith (working 1768-73) which brought him to public notice in 1768; another Italian, Mercati, also exhibited a Vesuvius in the same show.²³ By the 1770s fire and volcano paintings were numerous: Robert Wilkins exhibited two Vesuvius paintings in 1770 and 1773, Joseph Wright of Derby, a friend of Jacob More (see pp 219-21) exhibited a Vesuvius and a Girandola in 1776, and William Marlow exhibited four paintings of eruptions between 1768 and 1783.²⁴ Hugh Primrose Dean, the eccentric artist in Lord Palmerston's employment prior to William Pars, made an illuminated transparency of Vesuvius, which he exhibited in a private gallery in

London in 1780 as a money raiser; although definitely a theatrical rather than an artistic attraction (which, according to Thomas Jones, 'amused the publick sucessfully'),²⁵ it was, like de Louthembourg's works, allowed to be held as Art, and Dean inserted an advertisement for it in the Catalogue of the Society of Artists of that year.²⁶ Even Hamilton could see Vesuvius as entertainment: one of the works in Garrick's collection was a transparency of the volcano in eruption which had been given to him by Hamilton, and which was viewed with 'a mechanical contrivance to heighten the effect'.²⁷

The fashion was not only a British one; French artists had been busy too. Claude-Joseph Vernet (1714-89), who painted many romantic views of the Italian scene, saw Vesuvius as an entertaining spectacle, adding Beauty rather than Sublimity to the surroundings of Naples.²⁸ His younger colleague Pierre-Jacques Volaire, however, turned to painting Vesuvius pictures for his livelihood (he had trained as a marine painter, collaborating with Vernet on his 'Ports of France' series from 1754 to 1762). He settled in Naples, turning out a great number of huge canvasses; no longer was the volcano a backdrop or even part of a landscape scene, but it filled the paintings, dwarfing the puny humans who were always present in the picture to show the scale, as in his Eruption of Vesuvius of 1782 (oil on canvas, 129.0 x 260.0 cm, signed 'Peint par le Chev. er Volaire en 1782', Museo di Capodimonte, Naples, Plate 73).²⁹ Both colour and scale serve to demonstrate the Sublimity of Nature, but the atmosphere is still one of a theatrical show, at which the hardest of the elegantly dressed, gesticulating climbers have won the best seats. Human beings are still permitted some sense of 'control' over nature, and the unpleasant aspects are avoided; to

quote Burke from his A Philosophical Enquiry, 'When danger or pain press too nearly, they are incapable of giving any delight, and are simply terrible; but at certain distances, and with certain modifications, they may be, and they are delightful, as we every day experience.'³⁰

Mrs. Piozzi, an admirer of Voltaire's, unconsciously echoed this sentiment -

'this amazing mountain continues to exhibit such various scenes of sublimity and beauty at exactly the distance one would chuse to observe it from; a distance which almost admits examination, and certainly excludes immediate fear'. 31

By 1780 Vesuvius had become a standard part of the Grand Tour, but it remained almost exclusively a Northern interest; a Neapolitan friar remarked to Mrs. Piozzi that it was 'our mountain, which throws up money for us, by calling foreigners to see the extraordinary effects'.³² Superstition was strong, and many local inhabitants considered volcanoes to be the mouths of hell.³³ (The Italians, similarly, saw Sublimity in elements of the British landscape which were of less note to the British themselves: the iron works of Coalbrookdale became a standard part of tours of Britain - Count Carlo Castone della Torrone di Rezzonico described the 'streams of liquid red-hot iron [which] seem like lava from Vesuvius',³⁴ and de Louthembourg painted a brilliantly-coloured depiction of the scene in 1801 (Plate X).³⁵

More's friend Joseph Wright of Derby (1734-97) executed some views of Vesuvius in the same Romantic manner,³⁶ but he also took a new interest in forms and colours, making careful, detailed sketches which captured the effects of light and rock formation,³⁷ bringing to his paintings a new appreciation of the real power and violence of the

volcano. In the gouache sketch Eruption of Vesuvius of 1774,³⁸ the paint is splashed on in haste (and probably on the spot), the dark sky serving to highlight the brilliant effects of the yellows and oranges of the lava flow. It was during his stay in Italy that Wright turned from painting indoor light effects, for which he was already famous, to landscape painting, bringing to his work a great knowledge of the action of flame and molten metals - as Benedict Nicolson has pointed out, he was the only painter to study volcanoes who had also studied blast-furnaces in operation.³⁹ For him, Vesuvius was anything but a theatrical spectacle; it defied human intervention and came nearer to the superstition of volcanoes as the mouths of Hell.

Another new departure in attitude and execution was his large, panoramic works which, with their glowering atmospheres but dignified, grand design, come nearer to the style of history painting than landscape painting. In the Vesuvius in Eruption (Plate Y)⁴⁰ the viewpoint is very similar to that of Thomas Wyck's, though taken from a slightly higher level above the harbour; the lighthouse is here used as a silhouette to highlight the colour and magnitude of the volcano behind it, and foreground detail is suppressed. In another work of 1778, he introduced the procession of St. Januarius' Head,⁴¹ a religious rite which the people of Naples held whenever the volcano erupted seriously, taking the relics up the volcano to placate the saint and beg for mercy; it has the appearance of classical history painting, a rite to placate an angry god, rather than a contemporary event. It was this aspect of Wright's work that influenced More the most, though More also shows the influence of Voltaire in his use of brilliant, even lurid colour.

b. More's Volcano Paintings

Considering the number of volcano paintings produced in the 1770s, it could well be argued that More, far from being original in his own volcano paintings, was, to a certain extent at least, cashing in on a financially profitable craze. The fashion for the subject probably did provide the main stimulus, but More produced works which were more than theatrical tableaux or souvenirs for those who had made the ascent of Vesuvius; he united paintings of Nature with historical and mythical accounts to raise his works to the (then more highly regarded) level of history painting. Jacob More shared a patron for volcano paintings with his friend Joseph Wright in Lord Bristol, the Earl-Bishop of Derry.¹ Bristol was a relation of Sir William Hamilton, and like him, a keen amateur geologist, though his interest shifted in later years to art collecting. He had been introduced to the volcano at a most active phase (and was wounded on one of his first ascents).² He returned whenever possible if a new eruption was brewing, and when staying in Naples in 1788 went up every day; Mme. Vigée Lebrun (who painted a portrait of him with the volcano in the background)³ remarked that 'one may say he passes his life on Vesuvius'.⁴ More painted several volcano paintings for Lord Bristol, though all are now lost.

There is only one record of More's having been on Vesuvius, but it is a particularly detailed account, recorded in the journals of Thomas Hardwick and, with greater reference to More, Thomas Jones.⁵ Jones wrote that during the great eruption of 1778, with its heavy lava flows 'at least half a Mile wide - Lightening every night ... Messrs More, Hardwick, Henderson and Bretingham arrived by Post from Rome, to see

the Mountain.'⁶ The group were probably in Naples for the first time, for they systematically explored all the major places of tourist interest - Baiae, Lago d'Agnano, the Grotto of Posillipo and Pompeii.⁷ More certainly seized the opportunity to record all he could, making 'flying Sketches' on a visit up the volcano at night (fully quoted p.144); Jones added that the party only stayed in Naples for a short time.⁸ All More's sketches of Vesuvius in eruption are now lost, though a few picturesque watercolours of volcanoes in an inactive state are extant.⁹

More produced paintings of fire before paintings of volcanoes: in 1774 Father Thorpe noted that he was at work on 'The burning of Troy' (a fire painting attributed to More is discussed p.265). Canova saw a volcano painting in More's studio in 1780, a representation of Vesuvius in the eruption of A.D.79 'as Pliny describes'.¹⁰ This is probably the Mount Vesuvius in Eruption: the Last Days of Pompeii (oil on canvas, 151.0 x 201.0 cm, signed and dated 'Jacob More, Rome 1780', NGS 290, Plates 74 and 75); it is also perhaps the work exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1784 as The great eruption of Mount Vesuvius, in which the elder Pliny lost his life (no.15), which was reviewed in Giornale delle belle Arti in April of that year (Appendix C.2).¹¹ It is one of the largest of the three sizes in which More worked, and it shows Vesuvius with a column of fire issuing upwards, and a torrent of lava flowing down to engulf Pompeii, and running on to the sea. There are few details: several buildings of the city are vaguely delineated but most are already engulfed in flames. The dark and gloomy fore-shore around the edge of the composition provides an area of tonal contrast which serves to enhance the brilliance of the central part

(few artists have ever represented erupting volcanoes by day), and the gnarled rocks and stumbling figures are silhouetted against the sea, which is yellow and orange with the reflection of the eruption.

/It is an overwhelming work, both in scale and colour; the brilliant reds and oranges seem almost too lurid and theatrical to be acceptable as a truthful record of a natural phenomenon. Yet a comparison with both contemporary and modern descriptions, and with recent photographic records of erupting volcanoes, show that More did not exaggerate the scene at all;¹² this was appreciated by the reviewer of 1784, who noted that More had courageously been to observe an eruption for himself, representing its effects with great fidelity (lines 5-7). He recommends all those readers who have never seen Vesuvius, real or painted, to go to a Roman firework festival to appreciate, by comparison, 'from a little, innocent eruption, how large is an entire Mountain, in whose ravaged bowels sulfurs and bitumens hatch out' (lines 10-18). The 'history' element of the painting occupies only a small area of the canvas, but it alters the nature of the work enormously. The eruption cannot be regarded as a study of Nature independent of Man or its effects on him (as in most of Wright's paintings), and it cannot be enjoyed as an entertaining firework display (as in Voltaire's compositions), for its theme is large-scale destruction and death. In comparison with preceeding volcano paintings, it comes closest in composition to Wright's Vesuvius in Eruption of 1778,¹³ though More has concentrated his attention on the bulk of the volcano and its lava-covered sides, with little delineation of the foreground landscape or aerial effects. The whole composition also has a more nightmarish quality: 'everyday' Nature in the form of trees and foliage is excluded, to expose the viewer to the subject without the shelter of familiar material. More

has successfully united Historical subject-painting with a portrait of Natural Sublimity, raising landscape painting to its highest level by eighteenth-century standards; to quote Fuseli's definition:

'Landscape is either the transcript of a spot, or a picturesque combination of homogeneous objects, or the scene of a phenomenon. The first pleases by precision and taste; the second adds variety and grandeur; the third may be an instrument of sublimity, affect our passions or wake a sentiment.'¹⁴

The reviewer particularly praises the figures, 'well drawn and composed' (lines 43-5), and goes on to almost absurd heights of flattery - 'More has painted the death of a Painter of Nature and has thus partly compensated for his loss - the image of the great writer shall always be linked with his painting' (lines 62-5). More is certainly true to the general appearance of a volcanic eruption as he knew it, though in A.D.79 there was less visibility, the whole area being covered with clouds of ash.¹⁵ More has also depicted the volcano in its contemporary shape, a form very different from Pliny's day.¹⁶

More probably painted several versions of volcanoes in his Four Elements series: in 1781 Irvine noted that in one series 'Fire he has represented by Vesuvius'.¹⁷ In 1786 he exhibited a painting of Etna at the Royal Academy entitled View of the Coast of Sicily and Mount Aetna; this may have been a picturesque rather than sublime scene, and the sketch Catania and Mount Etna could be a preliminary study for it (Plate 49 and p.144).

In 1788 he exhibited a view of An eruption of Mount Etna with

the story of the pious brothers of Catania, as mentioned by Diodorus Sicullus and other authors, also now lost. There are several records of this work, however: More referred to the painting twice in his extant correspondence, and it was reviewed at some length in Giornale delle belle Arti in February 1787 (Appendix C.12). In a draft letter to Sandys of January 1787 More wrote that a new painting which he had just finished

'is thought the best thing I have done of the kind
it is an Eruption of Mount Etna with a very
Interesting Subject as mentiond by Diodors Siculus'.¹⁸

A week later he wrote another draft letter, to Lord Bristol, of an 'Eruption of Mount Etna with the Story of the Pious Brothers of Catania which makes an Interesting Picture and a Great Effect'.¹⁹ It was principally a history painting, and the reviewer commends More for not portraying 'only the imitation of inanimate nature' (lines 3-4). The basic composition was the same as that of the 1780 Vesuvius, with the volcano sending up a column of smoke and fire, and a river of lava flowing down to engulf the city of Catania (lines 13-15). The two brothers carry their aged parents to a waiting boat, and there is great force of expression in the agonised faces of the figures (lines 26-30). More, writes the critic, has portrayed Nature with extraordinary fidelity, and like a tragedy, the picture both terrifies and delights at the same time (lines 39-41).

In 1787 More painted an Eruption of Vesuvius in 1779, also reviewed in Giornale delle belle Arti (Appendix C.10). The painting is now lost, but the reviewer describes this composition in great

detail. It shows the two peaks of the volcano, the column of fire with molten rocks, and lightning, such as were observed in the eruptions of 1631, 1767 and the most recent severe eruption of 1779 (lines 12-20). Other mouths of the volcano, the craters of Naples, Portici and Torre del Greco, are visible behind (lines 26-8). The city of Naples is partly illuminated, and figures stumble along a road (lines 28-9, 32-34). The reviewer is particularly impressed by the colouring-'the real colour that it truly has, very different from the colour of natural [i.e. normal] fire' (lines 29-31). Many painters had portrayed Vesuvius, but none 'has succeeded in conveying such a sense of sublimity' (lines 5-6). A work by More of this subject, entitled A View of the Eruption of Vesuvius which happened in 1779 was listed by Cririe in the collection of George Walker (Edinburgh) in 1803,²⁰ though this may have been one of a group of pastel drawings which More sent Walker in 1793 (see p.141); the accompanying letter describes one as 'a View of the Eruption of Vesuvius in the Year 1779'.²¹ More also painted a picture of Stromboli; this was probably sent to Harvey or his friend Patteson, both of whom lived in the Norwich area, for the only reference to it is in the Catalogue of the sale of the Norwich painter John Crome in 1821, where it is listed as 'An Eruption of Mount Stremboli, by Jacob More'.²²

Another volcano painting, which does not fit any of the extant descriptions, is an Eruption of Vesuvius, recorded in the form of a coloured print made by W.Eyde (Plate 76).²³ It shows a shipwreck at night with a despairing sailor in the foreground, a sailing boat and a small dinghy behind, and Vesuvius in the background. It is now only known as a photograph of the print; thus the colour and detail cannot

be ascertained.

David Allan's satirical portrait of More, The Uncultivated Genius (Plate 77, discussed p.236) shows the artist at work on another view of Naples and Vesuvius, with the Mole and lighthouse in the foreground. This may not have been an actual work by More, but it demonstrates that this type of subject was considered typical of his hand.

More produced several pictures of volcano subjects done in pastel and crayon, though none in watercolour are recorded; the brilliance of the true colours was perhaps too strong to render faithfully in watercolour. In 1780 the Rev. William Sandys wrote to Lord Cowper informing him that More 'has made me a present of two Views of Vesuvius, done in crayons' of a large size.²⁴ In 1786 More sent to Britain '3 Crayon drawings' including an 'Eruption of Vesuvius' with 'the Inside of the Crater'.²⁵ In 1793 he sent a pastel to George Walker of Vesuvius in Eruption in 1779 (noted p.174). It would seem that most of the volcano works, both in oils and pastel, were lost soon after More's death, for none are listed in the encyclopaedic Bibliography of ... Volcanoes of Southern Italy compiled at the beginning of this century by Johnston-Lavis, although many works of other artists, particularly prints and drawings, are included.²⁶ There are also no works by More's hand in the Johnston-Lavis collection in London University.²⁷

Although it is difficult to ascertain how much influence More had on his contemporaries and possible pupils, one artist who was clearly

influenced by his volcano paintings is John Martin (1789-1854): he used so much of the sublime and theatrical elements of More's style in his depictions of waterfalls and volcanoes that he must have known More's work.²⁸ Martin came from Newcastle, where he was a pupil of the Piedmontese Boniface Musso, who owned a large collection of engravings after seventeenth-century Italian artists, notably Claude and Rosa.²⁹ But Martin's early works, such as Sadak in Search of the Waters of Oblivion of 1812,³⁰ painted in lurid reds and oranges, recall the drama of More's waterfall and volcano scenes far more than the works of the Old Master landscapists. Martin comes nearest to More in his volcano scenes, notably in The Destruction of Herculaneum and Pompeii exhibited in 1822,³¹ which is remarkably similar to More's 1780 Vesuvius in its design. Martin's paintings were generally much larger than More's, and also clearly influenced by the work of de Loutherbourg and the Panorama. Another artist who may have been influenced by More in his depiction of the Sublime was Francis Danby (?1793-1861), in paintings such as The Israelites led by the Pillar of Fire by Night (c.1825).³²

CHAPTER EIGHT

STATUS AND SUCCESS, 1773-1793

a. Personal and Professional Connections and Reputation

More's personal reputation has hitherto been a poor one. He has generally been regarded as an aloof, unfriendly individual, and a social climber who did not have the necessary cultural accomplishments to have merited the high standing he attained. A full study of the records left by his contemporaries reveals that he was indeed proud and jealous of his success, but that he was also a man who was easy to work with, and not unfriendly. Always very much of a loner, he compensated for his shyness (and also, perhaps, an inferiority complex due to his humble background) by becoming an extremely practical member of whichever social group was most closely connected to his work at the time - he acted as Secretary to the Cape Club in Edinburgh, for example, and as an agent and dealer to other patrons and artists in Italy, becoming 'one of the mainstays of the British colony'.¹

The harshest opinion of More's character was the damaging attack made on him by George Cumberland, related by Whitley:

'Cumberland, who spent some time in Rome when More was living there, says that 'a sort of club' was then established, which all artists who visited the Eternal City were asked to join. Membership consisted only in the new-comer permitting a caricature portrait of himself to be sketched in the club-book, to which caricature the Abbate Leonetti appended a few lines of gently satirical description in Italian. The caricaturist was the English painter Charles Grignion, who lived in Italy ... The drawings were not malicious and appear to have offended the dignity of none of the subjects with the exception of More. "This", says Cumberland, sarcastically, "will not be wondered at when we recollect that it was he who placed his whole-length in the gallery at Florence, where Raphael is contented with barely showing his sublime countenance".²

When More had joined the Cape Club in Edinburgh he had been content to relate a youthful misdemeanour to his colleagues as part of the ritual of admission,³ but by this time he was no longer willing to submit to such an indignity along with other artists. The sheer extent of his international success and reputation perhaps also served to separate him from his colleagues, and judging from his correspondence as well as the records of other residents in Rome, he does not seem to have been particularly close to any of his fellow-artists. This independence had its advantages: the year before his death the sculptor Christopher Hewetson wrote to George Cumberland

'What business has been done this year has been divided between two parties, whilst those who belong to neither have naturally enough been neglected ... Exceptions to what I have just said are Hugh Hamilton & More the Landskip painter, who belong to no party, yet have had their share of business'. 4

The earliest purely personal record of More is James Northcote's account of their meeting in 1777, found in his manuscript correspondence and published biography. Northcote arrived in Rome at night, knowing 'no mortal in Rome, and but one word of Italian',⁵ and went to find More to deliver a letter of introduction 'which Barron had given me at Genoa'.⁶ He found his way to 'the English coffee-house in the Piazza de Spania, where Mr. Moore, an eminent landskip painter, had his study and painting room ... who luckily soon came and received me with great hospitality, and we breakfasted together, and immediately after Mr. Moore with much kindness went with me to seek for a lodging'.⁷ That evening 'I took a walk with Mr Moore about the city'.⁸ More also seems to have been well-regarded by Allan Ramsay and his son John, being a frequent visitor to their lodgings and accompanying them around Rome

on both their visits (see Chapter Fourc). He lent John Ramsay a drawing and a guide book,⁹ and met up with the father and son in Florence in 1784.¹⁰

John Ramsay's diaries are so precise and tersely factual that it is difficult to assess how close was the relationship, or what opinion either painter had of the other. A letter of introduction on More's behalf, sent from the Reverend William Sandys to Lord Cowper in 1780, yields rather more insight into More's character:

'as M^r More is eminent as a landscape painter, his character being well established among our countrymen, I beg leave to recommend him to your Lordship's protection if occasion offers, & in case any thing should induce him to go to Florence, I have desired him to wait upon y^o - which however I do not know whether he would do. He is so very modest and diffident'. 11

The memoirs of a Scottish admirer of More, Sir William Forbes, give the impression that he was perhaps a lonely character. Forbes visited Rome in 1792, but he had obviously known More previously - 'my Old friend, Jacob More, with whom I had renewed my Acquaintance on arriving in Rome'.¹² Editing his journals at a later date, he described their last meeting: More was of 'great simplicity of Character. - Poor Jacob More! This was the last time I ever saw him'.¹³

One artist for whom More is recorded as having a very high professional regard (in addition to Reynolds, whom he mentions briefly in a letter) was Joseph Wright of Derby (1734-1797). Wright probably met More in London, for he exhibited eight paintings at the Society of Artists in 1771, when More showed his Scottish landscapes.¹⁴

He and More had a common interest in brilliant, theatrical effects: in 1772 Northcote called him 'the most famous painter now living for candlelights'.¹⁵ He would certainly have known More in Rome, where he arrived for a period of study in 1774: in Italy his interest in landscape turned to geological formations and volcanic eruptions, (see pp.207-8). perhaps influencing More's work on volcanic scenes. Soon after his return to England, in 1775, Wright received a commission for a painting of Vesuvius from Lord Bristol (mentioned p.209), though they had a disagreement and Bristol never bought the painting - More fared better with the same patron, perhaps with Wright's advice and warning.¹⁶ It appears that Wright intended to give More his Self-Portrait in 1784, though his patron and business colleague Wedgwood took precedence; Wright wrote to Wedgwood in April -

'D.^r Darwin also mentioned how much you admired my portrait and advised me by all means to let you have it and paint another for my friend More of Rome'. 17

Wedgwood accepted the offer,¹⁸ and Wright wrote to Hayley in September

'I have now in my possession a finished portrait of myself w.^{ch} I painted for my friend More at Rome but M.^r Wedgwood being much pleased w.th it, wished to be the possessor of it; ... I have let him have it'. 19

It was through Wright that More received his first commission for his long-standing patron Thomas Harvey of Catton. More wrote to Harvey in January 1785

'I have receivd a letter from Mr. Wright of Derby, Informing me that You desir'd to have one of my Landskips and wish'd to know the Sizes and their Prices'. 20

Wright also sold drawings for More: an entry in his Account Book reads 'Mores account from Sep.^t 85 Rec'd of Mr. Gisborne for two large Drawings of Mores ... £8'.²¹ He even performed favours of a purely social nature - there are records of payments for lottery tickets on More's behalf.²² More expressed his admiration for Wright as an artist in his correspondence: in a letter to Harvey of July 1785 he stated that the great perfectionists of colour were Titian, Rubens, Wright, and painters of the Flemish school.²³ Like More, Wright was a difficult man to befriend - but unlike More, he could also be difficult to deal with professionally. He quarrelled with the Royal Academy in the early 1780s, setting up his own one-man show in London (which was not a success).²⁴ It is interesting that More took Wright's part against the Academy in the matter, though few others did: in a draft letter to Harvey of June 1787 he wrote

'I am exceedingly Sorry to hear the bad Accounts You give of the Exhibition as it ought to be for the Honour of the nation ... Sir Joshua Reynolds is Superior to any Artist in France or Italy and Mr Wright in his line Superiour to any that ever was or is at Present it is a great loss to the Academy Wrights not Exhibiting with them their treatment to him was shamfull which every body knows'. 25

More's early connections with Reynolds in London, documented in secondary sources, have already been discussed (see p.84), but it is worth noting later connections. In 1781 Irvine quoted Reynolds as considering More 'the best painter of air since Claude',²⁶ and in a draft letter of 1787 (a month before the defence of Wright quoted above), More asked his patron Smith Barry to show two of his paintings to Reynolds, hoping to have them exhibited the following year.²⁷ It is difficult to ascertain the nature of Reynolds's own views on landscape

painting: it is known that he was a very enthusiastic admirer of de Loutherbourg's Eidephusikon, which showed striking effects of lighting and movement.²⁸ Yet in general it was only naturally Sublime effects that appealed to him, as his criticism of Claude and Wilson demonstrates (see p.172). It would thus be in keeping with his general attitudes that he owned two of More's early paintings, but none of the later ones.

The individuals More mentioned most frequently in connection with his work in Rome (apart from his patrons), were the two leading bankers and dealers, Thomas Jenkins and James Byres. Thomas Jenkins (1722-1798)²⁹ acted as one of More's three executors,³⁰ and thus presumably had an intimate knowledge of his artistic and business affairs. Despite the fact that Jenkins was often difficult to work with, and extremely easy to offend, More chose to deal with him rather more than with the Scottish James Byres (c.1733-1817).³¹ This may have been due to religious sentiments (Byres was a Catholic) or to a recommendation from Wilson (who had lived with Jenkins in Rome in the 1750s),³² or perhaps, more simply, that More wished to associate with the most successful and influential entrepreneur in the city. Jenkins was the principal British representative at the Vatican, and thus someone on whom More's prosperity depended to at least some degree.³³ Like More, he had risen from a relatively humble background, and he was a proud and ambitious character.³⁴ He was notorious for his high-pressure sales techniques: Father Thorpe recorded in his letters that one of More's patrons, Smith Barry, had succumbed, while staying at Jenkins's Villa, to his persuasive salesmanship - 'Jenkins makes his new seat to be a sort of trap for such gentlemen'.³⁵ More was all too well aware of the sort of profits Jenkins made, and in a draft letter to Lord Bristol of

1787 he openly called Jenkins's integrity into doubt: referring to some Old Masters that his patron might wish to purchase, More wrote, 'I shall propose them to Your Lordship as they may be obtained at a reasonable rate and not in the Jenkins Stile'.³⁶ The other principal dealer, James Byres, is also mentioned frequently in More's MS Letterbook, mainly in his capacity of banker. He was clearly an admirer of More's work, for in a letter of 1785 he praised More's abilities highly, and he owned one of More's landscapes, which hung in his drawing-room.³⁷ In the 1780s More himself increasingly worked as an agent and dealer for other British artists in Rome: his professional relationships with these colleagues is discussed in Chapter Eleven.

More kept up a friendship with three Edinburgh artists - Richard Cooper, George Walker and John McGowan, all of whom owned works by More.³⁸ It is recorded that More's father was a merchant,³⁹ and his aunt a housekeeper;⁴⁰ his nephew, who came to Italy to clear up his effects in 1794, was living in London in the 1790s, probably working as a goldsmith (discussed p.306). The only relation mentioned in More's correspondence is his sister: she was in London in 1771, and exhibited a needlework piece at the same exhibition in which six of her brother's Scottish landscapes were shown.⁴¹ When he left for Rome she remained in London, showing other needlework pieces in 1772 and 1777;⁴² in 1772 she gave her address as 'Poland Street', an area where many artists lived.⁴³ She continued to practise needlework after her return to Edinburgh, perhaps making her living by it - in 1786 More sent some drawings to John McGowan in Edinburgh, with an accompanying letter which indicated that two were for her:

'3^d a View of Temple of Tivoli and Campagna of Rome
 4th one in Bister a View of Neptuns Grotto at
 Tivoli both for my Sister'. 44

The draft of the letter in his MS Letterbook also includes:

'if the Bister maner pleases You I shall send You by
 the first oppertunity as when my Sister has done it
 in Sewing ... She will Send it to You and I shall
 suply her with others ...' 45

After More's death some of his paintings went to her, including works later in the collection of Archibald Constable, and ⁱⁿ the collection at Newhall House.⁴⁶ In the draft letter quoted above, More also mentioned a drawing for 'my friend M^r Belcher'. The various directories of Edinburgh do not list the name, but Gough in his Scottish Topography of 1780 noted a book published by a Commodore George Walker and a Mr. Belcher: More's Edinburgh friend, the artist and collector George Walker, and this friend Mr. Belcher, may possibly have been sons or other younger relations of the two men.⁴⁷

McGowan noted, on the outside of the letter from More quoted above, a list of items to be sent out to him, including '2 Combs & Powder knife & inclosing a letter from M^{rs} Simpson ... and a small parcell adressed to Madama Erighetta Ei Roma'. The woman in Rome may have been the 'Ellizabetta' who is listed in More's accounts in his Letterbook in May 1787 as receiving three regular payments.⁴⁸ More never married - but Farington (whose information cannot be taken as reliable) suggested after his death, from sources in Rome, that More 'lessened the respect in which He would have been held by forming a Connexion with an artful woman altogether unworthy of his attention',⁴⁹ and that a 'connexion

with an Italian woman had been expensive to him'.⁵⁰ Perhaps 'Ellizabetta' was his mistress, or an illegitimate child (another possible reference to this is discussed in relation to the Self-Portrait, p.236). Farington also reported a more serious rumour, supposedly quoted from More's nephew after his trip to Italy in 1794 to clear up his uncle's effects: the nephew 'assured Sir George [Beaumont] that More was poisoned by a woman who lived with him some time. - She died in a few months after him'.⁵¹ This rumour seems rather far-fetched, but it certainly suggests that there was some aspect of More's personal life which he wished to keep hidden. The woman was not, however, the Scottish girl Jane Home, as has been suggested in an article on the Home family; the 'Moore' with whom she was involved in Rome was Dr. John Moore (1729-1802), author of Travels in Italy, published in 1781.⁵²

From these few records it can be seen that although it is impossible to provide a full description of More's character and standing, there is enough evidence to demonstrate his independence within the British community in Rome, and to call into question the assumption that he was a man of snobbish or unfriendly character. His letters to his patron Lord Bristol (discussed in Chapter Ten) are the least formal of his extant correspondence, but give no additional information concerning his private life. Cumberland's allegation, perhaps typical of the attitudes of his dilettante circle, would seem exaggerated; the action for which he criticised More - the submission of the Self-Portrait of 1783 to the Uffizi collection (discussed in section c. of this chapter) - was not necessarily one of snobbery but of expedience and opportunity. However, it followed another honour of

1781, that of More's election to the Accademia di San Luca (discussed in the following section) at a time when few foreigners were admitted to the Institution, and the combination of the two prizes of artistic status was perhaps sufficient to arouse censure from those who perceived that More was falling into the trap of commercial success at the very time when his achievements were being officially recognised.

b. The Roman Academician, 1781

More's status in the art world of Rome was assured when he became elected an 'Accademico di Merito' of the Accademia di San Luca, the official Roman Academy of art. In More's time there was no official body of British artists in the city (just as there was no ambassador); it was only in 1797 that Sir William Hamilton gave £100 for the founding of an 'Accademia Nazionale Inglese' in Rome.¹ The Accademia di San Luca was the most prestigious institution connected with the arts in Rome, and all foreigners resident in the city who wished to be regarded as 'Established' artists found it expedient to join.²

Until the 1760s, this was an extremely easy process, the donation of a painting or a sum of money being sufficient to gain entry; there were 'Accademici di Merito' and 'Accademici di Honore'. Records of membership in this period, and of other material quoted in this section, are to be found in the minutes of meetings of the governing Congregazione in the Libri dei Decreti, still held in the Archive of the Accademia in Rome. New Italian members of the 1760s and 1770s included such names as Piranesi (admitted 1761), Penna (1768), and Pacetti (1775),³ though most of those who joined in the 1760s were foreigners, and not all were

practising artists - Gavin Hamilton and Thomas Jenkins (1761), Robert Strange (1763), Pierre-Jacques Volaire (1764), Angelica Kauffmann (1765), Richard Brompton (1766), Anton Maron (1766), and James Byres (1768).⁴

By the end of this decade the casualness with which Academic status was conferred became increasingly abused, many of the new Academicians (including the British) being unwilling to take their status and its responsibilities seriously. Several failed to submit the promised paintings required for their admission - Gavin Hamilton, Jenkins and Byres were all censured for their tardiness, and fulfilled their obligations several months late.⁵ The chief culprit was the Frenchman Volaire (whose volcano paintings are discussed p.206, with an illustration of his work Plate 73), who removed a painting which had already been submitted; numerous requests for its return, made over a period of several years, failed to elicit the painting from him, and only when the committee passed a resolution in October 1775 to expel him from the Accademia if it were not returned did he comply with the request.⁶ It was because of these lapses that a resolution with regard to foreign applicants was passed in 1772, stating that only those who already belonged to the principal Academies of their own countries would be eligible for admission.⁷ This was considered to be sufficiently serious to be repeated the following year.⁸ In 1775 a complaint was also made against the conferring of Honorary Academician status on persons of high social position who did not necessarily have a serious interest in the Arts, and a resolution was passed to 'remedy the abuse'.⁹ Thus, by the time Jacob More came to apply for admission in 1781, an exclusivity had been established and the candidates were submitted to strict proposal and voting procedures; the number of foreign artists admitted after 1775 was indeed very small.¹⁰

More was already a member of the Society of Artists in London and thus fulfilled the first condition of admission.¹¹ He was proposed by Ponfreni on 6 May 1781, having already shown a 'beautiful Landscape' to the Academicians, and having also obtained a dispensation for not being a Catholic:

'Mr. Jacob More has shown one of his pictures, representing a delightful landscape, to the Academicians, and as his merit has been discussed by the Congregation on previous occasions, and having, not being a Catholic, shown a satisfactory dispensation from St. Santità ...' 12

Voting was by secret ballot:

'The ballot box was spun round, and the Academicians informed that the black balls signified entry: on opening, they found all the balls black, thus he was accepted as an Academician of Merit, and must take his place in future congregations'. 13

More was exceptional in receiving every vote in his favour: there is no record of a unanimous vote for any other artist, and several were rejected.¹⁴ He was formally admitted 10 June 1781, but he does not seem to have taken part in any meetings. The painting is recorded in the list of Donations, but it cannot be traced today in the collection of the Accademia.¹⁵

It is interesting to note which members of the Accademia were present to vote on More's admission, as several were connected with him in other aspects of his life in Rome. They were (in the order listed in the Libro dei Decreti): Marchese Ferdinando Raggi, the

Principal of the Accademia; Tomasso Righi, who provided decorative work in the Villa Borghese and the Chigi Palace;¹⁶ Giovanni Battista Ponfremi (who proposed More), who worked on mosaics at the Vatican;¹⁷ Antonio Asprucci, the administrator of the Villa Borghese;¹⁸ Vincenzo Pacetti, a colleague of More's who worked with him in the Villa Borghese, and who carved More's tombstone;¹⁹ Giovanni Battista Ceccharelli; Pietro Angeletti, who worked with More in the Villa Borghese;²⁰ Anton de Maron, who also worked in the Villa Borghese;²¹ the Spanish painter Francesco Priziardo; Gasparo Sibilla, architect; Carlo Marchioni, architect; Andrea Bergondi, sculptor; Domenico de Angelis, who worked on decorations in the Villa Borghese; Christoph Unterberger, who also worked in the Villa Borghese; and the painter Lorenzo Masucci, son of Agostino Masucci, Gavin Hamilton's old Master.²² Most, if not all, of these men would probably have known More's work before the proposal for admission had been made; their later influence may have helped him to obtain the commissions for the landscape painting in the Villa Borghese and the creation of the new English garden in its grounds, both of which were carried out a few years later.

It is odd that despite the official recognition and honours More received in Italy he does not seem to have joined the Edinburgh-based Society of Antiquaries, founded in 1780, even as an Associate member. The group of 'Artists associated' listed up to 1792 included Alexander Runciman, William Jeans and Richard Cooper, and 'Correspondent members' (several of whom were resident in Rome) included Gavin Hamilton, James Byres and Colin Morison.²³ Brydall states that More did belong in an Associate capacity,²⁴ but the source he quotes for this information (Transactions of the Society, 1792), does not list More.

Unless the published list is incomplete, it would suggest that More intended to remain in Rome, and did not consider it necessary to obtain an official artistic status in Scotland.

The unanimous vote for his election to the Accademia is proof of an extremely high current reputation and popularity; with the acceptance of his Self-Portrait by the Uffizi Gallery three years later, he had attained the two highest artistic awards for an established artist in Rome.

c. The Uffizi Self-Portrait, 1783

Jacob More's Self-Portrait of 1783 was painted specifically for the Gallery of Artists Self-Portraits in the Uffizi, Florence. The collection, begun by Cardinal Leopold de' Medici, had hung in the Uffizi since the 1680s; in the mid-eighteenth century it was reorganised and expanded by the Grand Duke Leopold of Lorraine.¹ During this period it became a matter of great prestige to be admitted to this select (and permanent) club. British artists had already featured in the collection before the reorganisation, though most were added during the 1770s and 1780s; among the additions were the works of Reynolds, Northcote and More.²

More's large, full-length Self-Portrait (oil on canvas, 198.0 x 147.5 cm, Uffizi Gallery, 1890-1929, Plate I) signed and dated 'Jacob More Pinx.^t/Roma 1783'³ was presented by the artist in person in May 1784. This is now the only known version, though a Self-Portrait (perhaps a copy) was sent to Lord Bristol, and was recorded in the

collection at Downhill in 1823.⁴ Two engravings were also made from it (which will be discussed later in this section). There are five documents relating to the painting in the Archivio Soprintendenza alle Gallerie, Florence.⁵

The first related document is a letter from More to the Director of the Gallery (Pelli), dated 10 May 1784, which reads (in translation)

'The desire I have always had of being able to place my own portrait in the Picture collection ... has been renewed on the occasion of coming to that capital [Dominante] to bring two Pictures for My Lord Cowper, which he ordered from me some time ago, and among other objects together with the two Pictures I have brought Another of my Portrait, whole length, in a landscape (my particular speciality in painting)'. 6

Pelli's entry in his diary two days later demonstrates the strength of More's current reputation:

'Jacob More the famous English Landscape Painter ... has brought his own portrait ... he merits being favoured because he is already noted for his outstanding ability, and the picture he is offering has been praised by all who have seen it for its originality and striking effect'. 7

There is a document noting official acceptance of the painting on 15 May 1784, endorsed 3 July,⁸ a letter to More of 29 May informing him of the acceptance,⁹ and More's reply of thanks, addressed to Pelli.¹⁰ More also wrote to Lord Cowper in June, telling him that the Gallery 'has done me the honour of Accepting of it for the Gallery of Portraits'.¹¹

The Uffizi Self-Portrait is unique in More's extant oeuvre, being

his only known essay in portraiture - yet it is definitely by More, as the lightly handled, fluid brushwork, and the glowing colours of every part of the canvas (including the face), are absolutely typical of his hand. If any other artist was involved in the composition, it could only have been in the early stages of its production; from the general simplicity and straightforwardness of the approach, even this would seem unlikely. The painting shows More 'at work' in the countryside; he is seated, holding a small canvas and several brushes, dressed in the elegant clothes of a Gentleman Artist. In the background is the Grotto of Neptune at Tivoli, a scene he painted and sketched many times.¹² The pose, a side view of the seated figure with one leg crossed over the other, and the face turned towards the spectator, is typical of other Self-Portraits of the period.¹³ It is interesting that More has chosen to emphasize the gentleman-artist aspect of his work rather than the craftsman-artist - he has definitely asserted his status socially as well as professionally, with clothes rather too splendid for plein-air painting. The most striking aspect of the painting is its colour; subtle shades of grey, blue, ochre and lemon. The dark green umbrella in the foreground sets off the magnificent buff-coloured hat edged with gold, and the grey silk coat. The waistcoat is striped yellow, the trousers pale ochre, with paste buckles, and the stockings white, with buff shoes and silver buckles. Behind the artist, the branches of the trees are painted in an extremely patterned fashion, in gentle green-greys; the grotto to the right is grey-brown, with tinges of pink. The trees are lightly coloured behind the figure itself, but more boldly brownish towards the top left of the canvas. The general effect is one of magnificence, without garishness. The lively personality of the sitter is very

clearly conveyed:- he has a ruddy complexion with clear, piercing eyes; it is a practical and resolute look, which enlivens the formal aspect of the dress, and well accords with what is known of More's character. It is an extremely successful portrait, conveying both the appearance and personality of the sitter in an uncontrived, lively manner.

In comparison with other works of this period which hang in the Self-Portrait collection it stands out for its colour, size and energy, and many of the contemporary works seem overly sombre and formal by contrast. Most of the earlier ones had not been painted for public display, and lack the magnificence of style of More's work. He had also outdone the other contributions of British artists, and this is probably what prompted the accusation of 'presumptuous' from Cumberland; it was particularly conspicuous a contrast to that of Sir Joshua Reynolds, a painting of lamentably poor quality. Sir James Smith, visiting the Gallery in the mid-1780s, remarked that

'Those are not always the most celebrated artists who make the greatest figure here. The portraits of Raphael and Julio Romano are but indifferent, and Corregio is not to be found at all. They could paint heroes and angels too well to waste time on their own physiognomy. On the contrary, painters of whom one scarcely remembers the names, make a conspicuous appearance, on ample canvas, in studied apparel, calling up their best looks to challenge notice, and each seeming to say for himself, "sono pittore anch'io" ... I was sorry to see our unrivalled and ever to be regretted Sir Joshua Reynolds make so poor a figure here ... we cannot but suppose he meant that to be a lasting performance, yet no colours were ever more transient'. 14

Smith does not mention More by name, but the reference to the 'ample

canvas' and 'studied apparel' suggests that it is to More's Self-Portrait that he refers. Reynolds had perhaps used fugitive pigments, and his painting had darkened considerably in a short time. It was also perhaps simply a poor painting, for it prompted James Northcote (one of Reynolds's pupils) to remark in a letter of 1778, only three years after its completion:

'Mengs had sent his head to the Gallery long since and unfortunatley for him the [sic] have hung Sir Joshuas Close to it which makes it look like a divil for the ought not to come together for Mengs's is finish'd so that you may allmost tell the hairs of his beard and Sir Joshuas appears as if it was painted with his fingers ...' 15

Northcote's own Self-Portrait was placed in the Gallery in 1778, and it is interesting to read his opinions on its acceptance, communicated in private letters to his brother in England and thus free of any artifice of sentiment which he might have expressed to patrons out of convention or politeness:

'I find as I expected that my picture being well receiv'd at Florence creates some envy the say at the English Coffee house that it is already in the Gallery and hung at the side of Sir Joshuas, which is not true, and one of them said that if my master after working 30 years with such Great success and Fame thought it an honor to have his head there, it must be in me great presumption to think of it'.¹⁶

Northcote used the word 'presumption', which is the criticism levelled at More by Cumberland; More was thus not alone in being censured - probably through jealousy rather than righteous indignation on the part of the other artists - and he would have been only too well aware of the consequences of his action before donating the painting.

Cumberland's allegation that the painting stood out among others in the collection because it was a full-length was unfortunately true: there were few other full-lengths of this period. The only one to compete in brilliant colouring and scale is that of Madame Vigée-Lebrun, which had been exhibited in Rome in 1790 with great success before being sent to Florence. (Like More, she made a copy of it for Lord Bristol, which still hangs in Ickworth today.)¹⁷ Not all the criticism was adverse, however. Thomas Watkins, who visited the collection in the late 1780s, 'rather exulted in perceiving that none of the modern had equal merit with that of Mr. Moore, an English landscape painter resident at Rome';¹⁸ he also noticed by contrast the unfortunate state of Reynolds's painting and hoped that this 'faded daubing' could be replaced by another portrait.¹⁹ James Dallaway, writing at the end of the century, also admired More's painting as 'an honourable testimony of uncommon excellence'.²⁰ Hugh William Williams, visiting a few years later, was not at all impressed, though he found the whole idea of such a collection 'a spotty and fatiguing exhibition ... The Caraccis would not be taken for men of genius ... least of all, the celebrate Jacob More ... a rather silly looking person'.²¹

The two extant engravings made from the Self-Portrait completely fail to do it justice. One is an anonymous engraving now in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery (22.7 x 17.1 cm);²² it reproduces the basic elements of the composition faithfully but very simply, and More's face is not recognisably the same as the one in the painting. It has a patterned border and is inscribed underneath 'Jacopo More Pitt. Paesista nato in Edimburgo Capitale della Scozia nel 1740. vive in Roma. 229'. The other engraving, a very small and crude mezzotint

(15.8 x 13.3 cm) was made by Carlo Lasinio in 1786 as one of his series of Uffizi Self-Portrait engravings, Ritratti di Pittori nella Galleria di Firenze; an example is now in the Dept. of Prints and Drawings of the British Museum.²³

An interesting additional note on More's reputation among his fellow-artists is a possible caricature of him by David Allan. In the National Gallery of Scotland there is a small, undated oil painting by Allan, entitled The Uncultivated Genius (on metal, 23.9 x 18.15 cm, NGS 2126, Plate 77),²⁴ which caricatures an artist at work in his studio. The artist represented has not hitherto been identified as any one specific individual, but a comparison between the physical characteristics of the figure in this painting and those of Jacob More in his Self-Portrait would suggest that it is in fact a caricature of More. The basic physical features of the sitter are similar, though they are flattered in More's painting, and made unattractive in Allan's: a squat, shortsighted man peers at a canvas on which he is painting an eruption of Vesuvius, a common theme in More's later career. The pose and the general composition are typical of such portraits,²⁵ though near the artist a woman sits busy with her knitting, and a small child (see p.225). On the walls of the studio hang the kind of pictures sought after by the British Grand Tourists, such as views of Roman ruins, a Madonna and Child, and a Bishop-saint. There is no record of any connection between Allan and More, though they must have known each other in Rome (Allan was there from 1764 to 1777); when More found lodgings for Northcote on his arrival in May 1777, they were those of the recently departed Allan.²⁶ Allan won a prize at the Accademia di San Luca in 1773, but he did not become an Academician;²⁷ he may have

regarded More's success with some jealousy, for his hostility to another artists with whom he competed professionally is recorded.²⁸ The painting could, however, have been done simply in fun - More had refused to have his caricature taken at the club in Rome, and Allan, hearing of this selfconscious dignity and the success of the Uffizi painting, may have decided to paint one himself.

The landscape paintings of More's early career in Scotland and Rome had gained him recognition and huge popularity both in official and general circles. The high honours he was awarded in Rome were, however, probably detrimental to his later career: from this period the quality of his landscapes began to deteriorate as he received increasingly high fees for repetitive work, and he possibly became bored by demands for the same type of subject. He came to concentrate his real energy and originality on other specialised types of painting - volcanic eruptions and sublime waterfalls - and on non-creative work such as art dealing. The rewards for a long period of training and an adventurous artistic spirit were not undue, but they seem to have given the artist a complacent sense of finished achievement at a time when he could have gone on to new ideas, and they relieved him of any need actively to seek future commissions, which would have prompted continued experiment and change.

CHAPTER NINE

MORE'S WORK IN THE VILLA BORGHESE

Introduction

The Gallery in the Villa Borghese, in which More worked in the 1780s, was built in the seventeenth century by Cardinal Scipione Borghese, nephew of Pope Paul V; in the eighteenth century the powerful and wealthy Prince Marcantonio Borghese modernised and enriched the Casino, which became the Borghese Gallery, and at the same time enlarged and remodelled the gardens.¹ The building and its surroundings became, as he intended, an impressive showpiece of wealth and culture, and one of the most visited and admired institutions of late-eighteenth century Rome. Miss Mary Berry remarked in her journal in 1784 that Prince Borghese 'has now a sort of pride in making it the first thing of the kind in Europe';² when a group of British visitors was presented to the Pope in 1788, conversation turned 'to the Villa Borghese, which we acknowledged (seemingly much to his satisfaction) was the first thing of the kind we had ever seen.'³

The Gallery was a great centre of international artistic activity during this period. Most of the building alterations were carried out in the early 1780s, chiefly by Mario Asprucci and Christoph Unterberger. Artists of various nations were brought in to decorate the walls and ceilings, and to provide paintings and sculptures. Gavin Hamilton decorated one room with a series on the theme of The Story of Paris, and Jacob More contributed a large landscape scene with the myth of Apollo and Daphne. More also directed the construction

of a Picturesque English garden - the 'giardino inglese' - in the grounds of the Villa.⁴

a. The 'Apollo and Daphne' Painting

More's painting of Apollo and Daphne was commissioned specifically for the 'Stanza di Apollo e Dafne', the room named after Bernini's statue of the subject of 1624, one of the most famous and popular sculptures in the collection (Johnathan Richardson had written in 1722 that 'This Statue does not yield in the Number, or the Quality of its Beauties to any that are in Italy, Ancient or Modern').⁵

More's painting is now lost, but a great deal of related documentation survives - the record of payment to More, references in More's own Letterbook, a review in a Roman art journal, notes made by British visitors to Rome and references in guidebooks and catalogues of the Gallery; there is also a gouache sketch of the subject, now in a German Museum, which may have been a preliminary study. The composition was painted between 1783 and 1785. Miss Berry visited the Gallery in January 1783 and noted in her journal that artists were being assigned rooms to arrange at their own discretion; Hamilton had one, 'More another with Landscapes - Hackert another in the same way'.⁶ In a letter to Thomas Harvey (now lost, but noted by Anderdon) of March 1785, More described a painting '12 feet high, he was at work on for Prince Borghese, for his superb villa',⁷ and in August of the same year mentioned in another (extant) letter to the same patron that he had 'now finish'd my Picture for Prince Burghese'.⁸ The dealer and antiquarian James Byres mentioned in August 1785 that More had just

completed 'a very fine picture for this villa'.⁹ The payment has been traced to the Borghese Family Archives, now in the Vatican Secret Archives: More received his fee from the curator of the Gallery, Antonio Asprucci, on 6 October 1785. The payment records (in translation)

'To Mr. More landscape painter Three Hundred Scudi to be paid as agreed and arranged for the Painting in oil made by him in the Room of Apollo and Daphne in the Palace of Villa Pinciana in a Frame/ Compartment situated between the Windows towards the Piazza behind the same Palace'. 10

How much responsibility More had in the overall decoration of the room is difficult to determine. Pacetti noted in his journal that More visited the Gallery to discuss the layout of the collection or the interior decoration with Asprucci, Visconti and himself;¹¹ several writers and critics state, like Miss Berry, that he supervised the decoration of the whole room,¹² and one contemporary, Thomas Watkins, reported that the whole Villa was 'under the direction of Mr. Moore'.¹³ More did receive a gift from Prince Borghese (sold in 1796, after More's death), but as this patron was known as a generous employer of artists, this cannot be taken as proof of any special regard.¹⁴ Even George Walker was misinformed;

'SEVERAL years ago, when the magnificent saloon in the BORGHESE PALACE was fitted up, he was engaged to execute the Landscapes; GAVIN HAMILTON having previously painted the historical subjects'. 15

It has also been assumed by many writers that More painted two landscapes: the confusion has arisen because the painting has been referred to as both Apollo and Daphne and the Vale of Tempe.¹⁶

Prior to More's work the room was redecorated. The curving, decorative vaults were the work of G.B. Marchetti, and the central ceiling panel by G.B. Angeletti.¹⁷ Payments were made for bas-relief work throughout 1784 and once in 1785,¹⁸ and other ceiling decoration was carried out by Domenico de Angelis the same year.¹⁹ Pacetti made additions to the pedestal of the Bernini Apollo and Daphne in August 1785.²⁰

The central ceiling panel by Angeletti, still in situ, represents Apollo and Daphne, thus echoing the theme of the statue beneath it; it is executed in high, rich tones with large figures, in a neo-classical style similar to Hamilton's Paris. More's work, though principally a landscape, represented the same scene, and a 'companion' painting by Carlo Labruzzi (discussed p.180-1), paid for over a year later at the same price, repeated the subject yet again.²¹ The effect must have been quite extraordinary - more a 'tour de force' than a triumph of either Art or Taste. An interesting anecdote by Thomas Watkins suggests that More was well aware of the incongruity of the arrangements:

'[More] seems to have arranged every thing to the greatest advantage, but unfortunately the Prince, who has not the least judgement in things of this nature, frequently interferes ...[as in the case of] a landskip done by Mr. Moore, in which the prince thought it would be very clever to introduce an imitation of this sculpture. Moore (as I hear) not only expostulated with him on the glaring absurdity of such an idea, but absolutely refused to comply with his request. This, however, did not prevent the execution of his design'. 22

The most detailed description of the painting is that of the

Roman art Journal, Memorie per le Belle Arti, which published a lengthy critical review in October 1785 (transcribed in full in Appendix C.6). The reviewer makes it clear that the painting was primarily a landscape, 'in which, to accompany the beautiful countryside which he has portrayed, he has shown the story of Diana's (sic) transformation into a laurel' (lines 5-7). He remarks that the scene could be taken for the Vale of Tempe (hence, perhaps, its later appellation): it shows a valley with steep, tree-covered slopes, a river running from a lake surrounded by mountains, with waterfalls and then tranquil meanderings (lines 7-10). The critic is most impressed by More's aerial perspective, with the rising sun glinting through a transparent veil of early morning mist: everything is 'faithfully imitated from Nature' (lines 24-29). Daphne and Apollo stand in the foreground of the picture, but they are only mentioned briefly; the pose described is the same as that of Bernini's statue, and Angeletti's ceiling (lines 13-17). The critic notes the odd shape of the picture, praising More's method of dealing with an unusually high, narrow canvas, using the form of a pine tree to 'divide' the composition and thus to avoid a disagreeable monotony (lines 29-36). He adds that 'defective' designs due to a pre-determined size of canvas are acceptable in history painting, but landscapists can provide sufficient varieties of design to overcome such problems (lines 36-44). He concludes, on an almost moralistic note, that landscape provides all the material necessary for a good composition; the repetitive and pedestrian works so often produced by landscape painters result from a failure to study nature which alone can inspire full, beautiful compositions - implying, with these words, that More was a truthful and sensitive interpreter of nature (lines 44-48).

The only extant composition by More portraying this subject is a small gouache sketch, now in the Kunsthalle, Bremen, entitled Apollo and Daphne (grey and brown wash over black ink on prepared yellow-green paper, 35.9 x 25.7cm, inscribed verso 'Jacob More', Cat. 37/241, Plate 78).²³ It is a very rough work, and executed in the same style and medium as the gouache sketches which belong to a much earlier phase (eg. NGS D291, Classical Landscape with Figures, Plate 6) rather than the later sketches- it may not therefore be connected with this composition. It shows Apollo and Daphne with other figures, two of whom, like Daphne, are turning into trees; the figures are on the shore of a lake, by a large sarcophagus. A small temple is outlined in the middle distance, and there are hills beyond.

Like the published review, other accounts of the finished oil painting describe it as primarily a landscape, the figures being small in scale, and of secondary interest.²⁴ Thomas Watkins, who saw the painting in the late 1780s, considered the figures to be so much an afterthought that he assumed More had 'employed a miserable dauber, who had inserted the Apollo and Daphne and ruined the landscape'.²⁵ This may have been the case, but as there is a sketch of the subject, it is reasonable to assume that More did all the work himself, and that Watkins perceived all too clearly More's lack of interest in the painting of figures, a noticeable contrast to his competent yet delicate handling of the landscape.

There were many earlier examples of this subject from which More could have taken ideas for his composition. One source which seems particularly close in design is the series of seven frescoes of

similar shape by Domenichino then in the Villa Aldobrandini in Frascati, now in the National Gallery, London. One of these depicts Apollo pursuing Daphne (NG 6287) and another, The Judgement of Midas (NG 6285), shows a hill town, a waterfall from a high lake, and mountains in the background²⁶ - elements which are also found in the background to More's painting.

The painting remained in the room for over a century. It was noted by Visconti - with whom More discussed matters at the Villa Borghese in 1788 - in 1796;²⁷ it was included by Nibby in his various guidebooks, by Montault in his Guide to Roman Museums and Galleries in 1870, and by the English Star Guide-book to Rome in 1890.²⁸ It is most likely that it was removed in 1891 (along with Labruzzi's companion painting), when works formerly housed in the Palazzo Borghese near the Via del Corso were moved out to the Gallery.²⁹ It is not mentioned by Venturi in 1893 (entries in two other guidebooks of 1893 and 1894, and the DNB, 1909, are probably errors due to authors repeating old material).³⁰ It may have been sold in 1902, when the Gallery became state property; no records of the sales can be traced.

The removal of the painting does not necessarily imply that it was considered to be of poor quality, but it does show a belated recognition of the unsuitability of such a scheme of one-subject works of art. Apart from the repetition of the theme, the room is very small and all the paintings were large, and executed in high colours; the more sombre canvases now in their place form a more suitable contrast to Bernini's masterpiece.³¹

More's patron, Prince Marcantonio Borghese, would seem to have been as pleased with the painting as the writer of the 1785 review, for only two years later he gave More the considerably more prestigious commission of creating a Picturesque English garden in the grounds of the Villa (discussed in the following section). This would imply that More was, as the remarks of his fellow-British residents in Rome suggest, not only enjoying huge popularity, but was now also considered to be the leading exponent of landscape painting in the city.

b. The Creation of the 'Giardino Inglese'.¹

The Borghese Gardens, famous for their magnificence and their tradition of public use, were well known in Britain long before the modernisations of the 1770s and 1780s. The Villa Borghese was still in the countryside outside Rome (in the 1720s foreign visitors had needed to obtain a bill of health to visit the Villa from the City)², and an engraved landscape view of 1792 shows that the land between the Villa and the Vatican was still mainly farmland.³ John Evelyn, a visitor of the mid-seventeenth century, had described the gardens as 'an Elysium ... a park, or a paradise' and he discussed in detail the grandeur of the walks, fountains, statues, deer parks and other features.⁴ Visiting gardens was, however, a rare phenomenon in Italy. John Moore, writing in the 1770s, noted that while people in London walking in the streets 'are mere passengers' who 'resort to the public walks or gardens' for relaxation, this was not possible in Italy, where the streets served as meeting places for the citizens to pass their leisure time as well as their working day.⁵ So unusual was the freedom that the Romans enjoyed in the Borghese gardens that

few exercised their privilege of free entry, and those who did were chiefly, as Silvagni remarked in 1769, the artists, the literati, the cardinals and ladies of the nobility.⁶ Prince Marcantonio Borghese held parties in the gardens, often very grand affairs.⁷ The British were allowed to hold less formal gatherings: 'permitted, by the Borghese family, to repair twice a week, and play at cricket and football'.⁸ Artists took great advantage of the free entry to the Villa, and many landscape painters resident in Rome during this period have left evidence of plein-air studies in the grounds.⁹

The gardens were first laid out in the sixteenth century, but they were continuously embellished and extended during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and then radically redesigned and replanted in the 1770s and 1780s. Until the mid-eighteenth century, the formal and artificial aspects had held most appeal for British visitors,¹⁰ but by the 1760s taste in gardens had begun to change. Two contrasting accounts, both published in 1766, serve to illustrate the old and new attitudes. James Northall found the Villa 'deservedly esteemed a most delicious place' and he echoed the sentiments of earlier visitors in his admiration for its least natural elements.¹¹ But Tobias Smollett could see little beauty in it, because 'an Englishman expects to see a number of groves and glades, intermixed with an agreeable negligence, which seems to be the effect of nature and accident ... He who loves the beauties of simple nature, and the charms of neatness, will seek for them in vain amidst the groves of Italy'.¹² He went on to catalogue at some length the major constituents of the typical modern Picturesque English landscape garden, contrasting them with those of the Villa Borghese.¹³ His views were echoed by various visitors later

in the century, such as Sir Benjamin Hobhouse, who remarked that in Rome an artist 'cannot fail to improve his taste: but the gardener cannot there learn to adorn the scenes of nature'.¹⁴

'English' gardens were by this time a fashion on the continent, particularly in France and Germany, though not as yet in Italy. The fashion was as much artistic and literary as horticultural, and the publications on the subject were numerous. Thomas Whately's Observations on Modern Gardening of 1770, with its French translation of 1771, became the textbook of the landscape gardener, in both England and France, with its emphasis on the painterly aspects of gardening - sweeping lawns, serpentine canals, and winding, rustic paths. Walpole noted its misuse by landowners with more enthusiasm than garden sense;¹⁵ so great was the craze that it was frequently satirized by writers such as Saurin, whose Anglomane, published in Paris in 1765, came out even before the grandest excesses of the style had been created.¹⁶ There were, however, several books, such as that by Hirschfield, which gave detailed descriptions of actual British gardens to counteract this lack of real understanding.¹⁷ However crudely the theorists may sometimes have been interpreted, the general status of garden planning had certainly been raised from that of a craft to a humble form of Art. William Burgh, in his commentary of 1783 on Mason's poem, The English Garden, wrote that 'The Gardener in my sense, and in that of the Poet, bears the same resemblance to the Kitchen-Gardener that the Painter does to the House-Painter', and that the gardener 'should consult the laws by which Painting is governed, and apply them to the sister Art of Gardening'.¹⁸ It was not therefore an oddity, but a very natural step, for a landscape painter to design

a garden: to quote Pope's aphorism, 'all gardening is landscape painting'.¹⁹

There were considerable practical difficulties in constructing gardens of this style in Italy: though they flourished in the cooler climates of Northern France and Germany, the climatic conditions of Mediterranean areas rendered their planting and maintenance a costlier and more complicated procedure. Few were laid out, and only a small proportion of these has survived. Walpole anticipated the problems, noting practically that

'In France, and still less in Italy, they could with difficulty attain that verdure which the humidity of our clime bestows as the ground-work of our improvements'.²⁰

Many of the materials, plants and methods were foreign to France and Italy, and wealthy landowners therefore often employed British gardeners, such as Thomas Blaikie from Edinburgh, who worked in France and Switzerland in the 1770s, John Graeffer who created the English garden at Caserta in the mid-1780s, and a Mr. Bush, employed by the Empress of Russia.²¹

Italians never became as enthusiastic about the subject as the French, even in theoretical writings, but this was mainly because they visited Britain less. The few who did see the new style for themselves were certainly impressed. Vincenzo Martinelli described Stowe, with its carefully planned allusions to classical mythology and literature, as an ideal garden, saying that the puerile formalities of French and Dutch styles had been discarded for a new rural and philosophical elegance,²² and in 1762 Count Algarotti praised the English for

abandoning 'la simmetria francese'.²³ By the 1770s, the new theories of garden beauty began to appear in poetry, and in 1779 Giuseppe Baretti, resident in England but not particularly noted for any interest in gardens, commented favourably on the style.²⁴

The 'Giardino Inglese' constructed in the Villa Borghese was the first garden in Rome planned from the beginning in this style, though not the first in Italy, being preceded by one at Caserta, near Naples (see pp.258-60) by about a year. Certain areas of the Villa Borghese had, however, been 'Anglicized' at a much earlier date: young Henry Herbert visited the Villa in 1779 and noted that 'the Grounds are something ... in an English style'.²⁵ Yet Sir James Smith, whose attitude to foreign culture was in general far from liberal, judged in the mid-1780s (possibly having seen only the ornately formal areas near the Casino) that the grounds 'excel in that peculiar style of magnificence appropriated to the gardens about Rome ... one would almost dread to see them submitted to the reforms of enlightened modern taste'.²⁶ The 'English' style of garden furniture was certainly in fashion well before this time; James Northall reported in 1766 on the tentatively Anglicised Coffee House in the garden of the Quirinale Palace, commissioned by Pope Benedict XIV and built by Ferdinand Fuga in a neo-classical style between 1741 and 1743.²⁷ The last of Fuga's Quirinale commissions, it had purely Italianate decorations, and paintings by Panini, Batoni, Masucci and Van Bloemen; but it had been described as 'English' from the year of its inception.²⁸ Northall found that it was furnished 'after the English taste, even to the hearth brush, and bellows, which are English commodities'.²⁹

In the Borghese gardens, the clearest indication of the general changes in style made during this period are shown in two engravings of the alterations made around a fountain near the Gallery, in the oldest part of the garden. The first engraving, made by Venturini and Rossi at the end of the seventeenth century, shows the clearly-cut, close-cropped box hedge, with individual trees behind, and a modest quantity of water in the fountain (Plate 79).³⁰ The second engraving, made by Percier and Fontaine between 1786 and 1792, shows the Romantic aspect of the same scene: the hedge has changed to sprawling bushes, the branches of the trees now mingle to form a leafy glade, the ground is dappled with sunlight filtering through the branches, and a delicate spray of misty water falls from the fountain (Plate 80).³¹ The figures in the two engravings are also very different: in the first, two men are prosaically examining the fountain, while in the second, a 'Gothick' monk sits reading on the stone bench. A view of the gardens in 1794 by Reinhart shows a landscape which could well be the subject of a painting by Constable, with a sarcophagus and deer on a shady walk among trees.³²

More's task of creating a 'Giardino Inglese' and of adapting already existing areas of the gardens was done in the mid 1780s. No plans of the changes survive, but an extant letter from More to Lord Cowper, notes made by More's contemporaries, and records of payments, together provide a full account of the work. Accounts of the extent of More's responsibility are conflicting: according to several writers, he was in charge of all the gardens for a time,³³ and he has even been described as a landscape gardener by profession.³⁴ The most that can be proved is that the 'English Garden' was certainly More's responsibility,

with architectural elements added by Mario Asprucci, the son of the curator of the Borghese Gallery.³⁵

The extent of the changes made by More can be seen by a comparison of maps. A mid-seventeenth century aerial view shows a formal garden around the Casino, with neatly-planted fields.³⁶ The first full plan, by Simon Felice in 1683,³⁷ shows a large area of very formal gardens, with fields to the north; a map of 1776 shows little change in nearly a century (Plate 81).³⁸ Percier and Fontaine's map, about twenty years later, shows the new projects in completion (Plate 82).³⁹ The south-west corner has been converted from rows of trees with a Canarium and a private kitchen-garden ('Hortus olitorius') to the English Garden with a lake, an island and temple, and meandering paths (also, to the east, the Piazza di Siena has been added, though this was done after More's work had been finished). The irregularity alone is enough to mark it out as a non-Italian garden, especially as the ground is flat in this particular area, with only a slight slope at the north side, down into a small valley; the changes certainly involved a great deal of labour, and reversed the usual Italian tendency of converting natural irregularity to geometric order. Photographs show the now-neatened areas of the garden laid out in this manner: the flat area, viewed south-eastwards from the lake, is shown in Plate 83, while the sloping area, viewed north-eastwards from the lake, is shown in Plate 84.

It has always been assumed that the temple was built in the already finished (or at least projected) lake, but this was not the case. The Temple of Aesculapius (Plates 85 and 86), the first architectural work of Mario Asprucci, was intended to stand at the end

of a straight path through the trees as payments to Pacetti in 1785 and 1786, recorded in the Borghese manuscripts in the Vatican, clearly demonstrate.⁴⁰ The antique statue of Aesculapius, restored by Pacetti, was put in place in March 1786.⁴¹ Pacetti's diary records much of the work (and shows that Mario Asprucci's father, Antonio, was in fact the director of the whole Villa).⁴² The temple was reviewed enthusiastically in Memorie per le belle Arti in March 1787, though the comments of later British visitors show that they were more impressed by the garden than the architecture - a difference in aesthetic priorities which has continued to the present day.⁴³ It was not perhaps merely coincidental that the antique statue in the Temple was that of Aesculapius (the latin version of Asclepius, the Greek God of Medicine), as a temple dedicated to this god had been built on an island in the Tiber in ancient Rome - the idea of creating an island in the Villa may thus have been taken from this historical source,⁴⁴ though the plan was made after the statue and temple had been built. Excavations for the lake (in which antique statues were found) began early in 1787;⁴⁵ Pacetti noted in his journal that the lake was a separate, later plan from the temple. Mario Asprucci (according to his Obituary) had to do extra work on the back of the temple 'to make it elegant from every side, to conform with the wishes of the Prince, who wanted to isolate it in the lake'.⁴⁶ Pacetti also had to do extra work on the back of the antique statue in March 1788, and he also provided one of the two statues placed on rocks in the lake on either side of the temple in 1787.⁴⁷ The other statue was to have been done by Sebastiano Conca, who came to discuss the project with Pacetti in August, though it was in fact carried out by Agostino Penna, and Conca's gift of two antique heads to Pacetti on the day of payment suggests that he had been relieved of an unwelcome

commission.⁴⁸ In August 'Mr. More came on Prince Borghese's behalf to see the two [statue] models'.⁴⁹

The lake is the most important feature of the Giardino Inglese. There was no difficulty in obtaining water for it (even today the area is plagued by springs and streams); there had been an earlier rectangular pond just north of the centre of the Villa, now a muddy valley, which is shown on the plan of 1776 as 'Piscina' (Plate 81). The new lake was roughly circular in shape, with several irregular inlets and three small islands (the only remaining inlet is shown in Plate 87). The water ran out southwards, down the Pincio. Early drawings and engravings show swans and weeping willows, and the general appearance was certainly that of an English garden, though the wealth of statues adorning and flanking the Temple struck a baroque note which the more restrained character of most English garden architecture (at Stourhead, for example) usually lacked. Many 'effects' were crammed into a small area, with artificial rocks and a waterfall in the lake.⁵⁰

More's description of the planning and planting of the lake would suggest that there were no preparatory plans, and that the basic elements of the English picturesque garden were still unknown to the Italians with whom he worked. In a letter to Lord Cowper of March 1788, he wrote:

'Prince Burghese's Lake in the Villa Pinciana, is now a most beautifull object as I have made them extend it to double the Size and have caus'd them to plant Trees in groups in a Picturesque manner which they were not acquainted with such as weeping Willows &c, the Prince is highly pleas'd with it, and intends to give a great Entertainment there after Easter'. 51

It is doubtful whether More was ever much of a theorist of the Picturesque. He had to plan a garden around an already-existing temple; the irregular lake, weeping willows and meandering paths were such stock elements of the English Picturesque movement that they would have been familiar to him through popular British prints and published writings. The sweep of water beneath the temple is a common feature of ^{his} paintings - and the temple in his 1780 Landscape is probably that of Asprucci's in this garden (see p.114). But the fact that More did not seem to be directing the garden layout from an already-prepared plan or painting would suggest that he was working from his own ideas translated to reality and altered and developed, on the spot.

The lake and gardens made a great impact on the Romans, and won lasting popularity. The first critic was none too enthusiastic, however, despite his usually anglophilic sentiments and his customary praise of Jacob More. In the review published in Memorie per le Belle Arti⁵² he could only approve the novelties with certain reservations, defending traditional styles in so doing. The review was published as the work was just beginning, and it was thus perhaps a plea for a less radical design. The critic's tone was rather guarded:

'the lake will imitate, with a certain irregularity and eccentricity, natural ponds, and to produce a more picturesque and exciting ['piccante'] effect a waterfall is being introduced, and fountains in the pool; for which Prince Borghese has wished to examine again the projects of the celebrated landscape painter Mr. Moore: which, with the unlimited generosity of the learned men who are directing this work, give us a well-founded hope of believing that he will produce a beautiful artistic composition ['complesso'] of art and nature, worthy of the Villa Borghese'. 53

The critic was particularly worried about the ethics of the scheme: what disturbed him most was the viewer's inability to discern where natural effects ceased and planned gardening commenced - it was almost a question of honesty, which never troubled the British (who often in fact specifically aimed at creating this lack of distinction); he felt that Italian people preferred obvious artificiality in their gardens so that they could admire the genius of Man, which could achieve effects of which Nature was not capable - 'in a word, one has pleasure in knowing that the object represented is made by man, and not by nature'.⁵⁴ To British eyes, however, the changes were considered a liberation from the strict conventions which prevented Nature from appearing at her best - hence the frequently used term 'improvements' for the redesigning of gardens. James Dallaway expressed this attitude in his passage on More, published in 1800:

'Moor gave the first specimen of an English garden to the Roman artists, as described in Mason's elegiac poem so denominated. The alleys and terraces disappearing, the fountains no longer forced into the air, and the water liberated from marble chests, spreads into a lake with irregular shapes'. 55

The Romans themselves certainly liked the lake and temple, which are still today regarded as modern 'monuments'. The fashion for English gardens passed very quickly, but the temple was not out of place with the nineteenth-century classical additions in other parts of the Villa. It became the setting for parties and fêtes: John Flaxman admired the beauty of the place and mentioned 'Musick in this Temple which sounds agreeable over the Canal'.⁵⁶ Illustrations of it abounded (including a sketch by Goethe made soon after its completion;⁵⁷ numerous

engravings were produced, early examples being those by Beaudeau in 1790, Dies in 1793-4, and Hubert in 1799.⁵⁸ It also became a standard illustration in guidebooks, and series of views of Rome.⁵⁹ In 1792 the northern artists astonished the Romans by demonstrating the unknown art of skating upon the frozen surface of the lake,⁶⁰ and the Borghese family thought sufficiently highly of its picturesque qualities to use it as a background to a family group portrait painted around 1800.⁶¹

The 'English' qualities of the garden did not survive the changes in taste so successfully, and the features which required most maintenance became Italianised for convenience. Grass gave way to camomile lawns, and by the time the next series of alterations were made in the Villa in the 1820s, many of the irregularities of the paths and lake edge had been simplified to the forms they have today. There is now only one small island in the lake (apart from that on which the Temple stands), and only one inlet. By the early nineteenth century non-British artists no longer saw it as an English garden - Senonnes, in his print of 1820 (Plate 88) depicted the temple with decorations, pot plants and a bathing nymph.⁶² British visitors, however, continued to recognise the 'English' style, even when unprompted by any knowledge of More's work.⁶³

The next series of developments took place in the 1830s, on additional land acquired between the south-eastern part of the Villa and the Porta del Popolo, laid out by Luigi Canina (1795-1856), who also designed neo-classical temples, gates, and other architectural features. He advertised his projected plans in a book, Le Nuove

Fabbriche della Villa Borghese, published in Rome in 1828.⁶⁴ In it, he harshly denigrated the 'English' fashion, though it is hard to estimate his true opinions, anxious as he was to promote himself as the arbiter of modern taste, and an architect of the latest fashion. He decried the attempts of those 'who, wishing to generalise the teachings of Chambers, Whately, Brown' made tortuous paths, hills, grottoes, caverns and lakes which 'offer to view puerile and paltry ideas'.⁶⁵ He scorned foreign influence, and, like the earlier reviewer, found the mixing of natural and artificial landscape unsatisfactory, saying that there was enough beauty at such places as Tivoli - 'These are the really great things, interesting and beautiful, and imitations of them will always be their inferiors ... there are good models in our own Italy without running to foreign things';⁶⁶ any new grottoes which he might include in his gardens would be made of real rocks and would have the practical value of sheltering people from inclement weather.⁶⁷

The 'English Garden' had by this time found some favour outside Rome and Naples, mainly due to the impetus of Ippolito Pindemonte's books produced early in the century - Saggio sopra i Giardini Inglese of 1809, and Dissertazione su i giardini inglesi e sul merito in ciò dell'Italia of 1817 (in which he named three English gardens in Italy, those at Caserta, Cremona and Genova, but not at Rome).⁶⁸ Count Ercole Silva's Dell'Arte dei Giardini Inglese (1801) was also influential, being an encyclopaedic work with many illustrations of gardens in both Britain and Italy; Silva stated in his Preface that he had undertaken the writing of the book because of the lack of information available on the subject.⁶⁹ These were much later English

Picturesque Gardens, however;⁷⁰ More's was one of the first two in Italy, and it is interesting to compare the aims and methods of these first, very different, projects.

There is no evidence of any connection between the planning or construction of the Borghese and Caserta gardens, but as the one at Caserta was begun a year previous to that in Rome it is quite likely that this may have stimulated Prince Borghese into competition, perhaps at More's suggestion. The English Garden at Caserta was the idea of Sir William Hamilton, British Envoy to the Court of Naples, and a close confidant of the ruling monarch.⁷¹ He was a friend of Lord Bristol, who stayed with Hamilton on his frequent visits to Naples: this may also have been a connection with More and his plans for an English Garden in the Villa Borghese. Records of the garden's construction are to be found mainly in the letters of Hamilton to Sir Joseph Banks, now in the British Library.

Extensive formal gardens had been laid out at Caserta earlier in the century and, as in the Villa Borghese, certain fashionable 'follies' had already been constructed before the new project was undertaken.⁷² In 1786 the Queen, a sister of Marie Antoinette (who had an English garden constructed a few years before at Versailles),⁷³ approved Hamilton's plans for a new garden, and she commissioned him to send for a British gardener to supervise the work. Hamilton asked Joseph Banks to arrange the employment of a suitable person,⁷⁴ and John Graeffer, an unwilling volunteer but in debt to Banks, was sent out to Italy.⁷⁵ The plans were extraordinarily ambitious. Fifty acres of land outside the wall of the Caserta Royal Garden were allocated for

the project, which included a kitchen-garden, a botanical garden, and a bowling green; eighty men were at work by September 1786, and it was hoped that the garden would attain '(except in the dog days) a piece of verdure & as good a turf as in England'.⁷⁶ The bowling green was finished by April of the next year,⁷⁷ and a month later Hamilton pronounced himself very pleased with the general progress.⁷⁸ The project was, however, extremely costly, and court censure and financial jealousy intervened,⁷⁹ slowing down the project considerably.⁸⁰

The English style of gardening seemed even more odd to the Neapolitans than to the Romans. Sir James Smith reported that despite a 'stupendous naked brick wall ... Graeffer had succeeded, we thought, wonderfully' but this was not at all appreciated by the Neapolitans, who could not 'see any kind of beauty in his performances'.⁸¹ After a couple of years the Queen lost enthusiasm; the King agreed to take over the management of the garden, and matters began to improve.⁸² In June 1793 Hamilton was able to report to Banks that the King visited it every day.⁸³ The garden struggled on through the Napoleonic wars, but by 1797 all the available money had been diverted to raise an army, and the gardener fell ill with despair.⁸⁴ He was rescued from destitution by Nelson, who (at Emma Hamilton's request) appointed him an official agent.⁸⁵

Not only was the gardener for this project sent out from Britain: Nathaniel Brooke referred in 1794 to a 'Mr. White, the director of a steam-engine ... [employed] for the purpose of watering some meadows for the King of Naples'.⁸⁶ But all forms of gardening methods fought a battle against the heat and the proximity of Vesuvius - when Brooke

visited the garden, he found it covered in ashes.⁸⁷ While at its best, however, it was recorded by More's rival in landscape painting, Philip Hackert, in a series of tempera views which show the garden as an English oasis in the dry, burnt, southern climate, complete with oak trees, false ruins, temples, and swans.⁸⁸

A greater part of the Caserta garden remains today than of the Borghese garden, for the Palace grounds have not withstood two centuries of constant public use. But it appears all the more odd to-day: as James Dallaway noted in 1800, the idyllic countryside of the ancient writers and of Claude and Poussin could only be successfully realized in Britain. In the country of their inspiration these 'perfect harmonizing landscapes are found only in imagination and on canvas'.⁸⁹

CHAPTER TENLORD BRISTOL, THE EARL-BISHOP: MORE'S CHIEF PATRON

More's chief patron, for whom he acted as artist, dealer and agent for about fifteen years, was Frederick Augustus Hervey, Lord Bristol, Bishop of Derry (1730-1803). His patronage probably constituted More's greatest material success; it established him as an influential figure among the artists in Rome, and it furthered his career as a painter by bringing him to the notice of other art patrons.

There are various biographical accounts of the highly eccentric and exceedingly wealthy Lord Bristol, and his wideranging interests and patronage have already been the subject of some study.¹ It has not always been stressed, however, just how great was his contribution to the patronage of individual British artists in Rome. Flaxman's much quoted statement 'The liberality of Lord Bristol has reanimated the fainting body of Art in Rome',² may seem a very sweeping statement, but for Flaxman and many others it could make the difference between a short stay or an extra few years in Rome; Thomas Jones also accredited many of his commissions to Bristol's early patronage.³

Bristol was generally kept at arm's length by the rest of polite British Society in Rome, but although his notorious character and conduct offended his fellow-travellers, he was regarded with rather more respect by the Italians themselves, who put much of his personal eccentricity in matters such as dress down to foreign habits. They may also have been aware of his attempts to ameliorate relations between the Catholic church and the British nation, efforts which have

only very recently received full scholarly attention.⁴ As early as 1771, he had a private audience with the Pope, at which he requested an alleviation of the restrictions and inconveniences placed upon the Protestants in Rome (officially classed as heretics), in reciprocation for his already-successful move to promote toleration for Roman Catholics in his own Irish diocese, a matter which contributed a great deal to his unpopularity in Britain.⁵ His wealth and extensive patronage were certainly well-known to the Italians, who noted his generosity in art reviews of the 1780s.⁶

Lord Bristol was always difficult to deal with: few artists could weather the financial uncertainties of his contracts, and he could be as unpredictable in his temper as in his purse. Joseph Wright, Thomas Banks, Thomas Jones and John Deare were several of the artists who suffered at his hands.⁷ Vincenzo Pacetti, More's Italian colleague, was also distrustful of his business deals.⁸ Not only artists were treated in this manner; the clergymen under Bristol were equally badly treated.⁹ Why then did Bristol commission so many paintings from More, and why did he chose More as his chief agent, sending him gifts as well as orders? Also, how did More succeed in working for him for so long without apparently experiencing so many of the problems with which other artists had been faced?

Several personal factors were probably important in the relationship. Firstly, More as a social 'loner' had no particular affiliations with any one group. Secondly, More was accustomed to dealing in a brusque, business-like manner, which probably appealed to Bristol, who was not a man to listen to explanations or excuses. Other

possible factors were that More possessed a great deal of patience, could work reliably on his own, had a reputation for prudence and shrewdness, and was so efficient that Bristol had little reason to complain of him. More, for his part, was probably only too willing to work for Bristol, as his patronage was the best available in terms both of money and status. More was ambitious, and having attracted the favour of so influential a patron, he meant to keep it; to a large extent, he took over where others had failed, and he was careful to make no objections to any unreasonableness in his patron's demands. He certainly did experience difficulties of payment,¹⁰ and Bristol seems to have quashed his engraving venture of 1786 when the project was already well advanced.¹¹

Lord Bristol made numerous journeys in Europe, including at least seven trips to Rome.¹² He had been made Bishop of Derry (the richest see in Ireland) in 1768: his vast mansion at Downhill, Co. Derry, was begun in 1776, and it was on his third tour of Europe, in 1777-9, that he began to purchase works of art on the lavish scale that typified the rest of his life as a collector.¹³ His inheritance of 1779 made his continued wealth secure, and British artists in Rome openly celebrated the event in anticipation of future lavish patronage.¹⁴

How More came to work for Lord Bristol is not recorded: it may have been through colleagues such as Thomas Jones or Joseph Wright, or Italians such as Vincenzo Pacetti. More is first recorded in connection with Bristol in the Journal of the architect Thomas Hardwick: Hardwick, travelling from Rome to Naples, 'in Mola met the Bishop of Derry & M.^r More' on 21 April 1778; the earliest recorded paintings for Bristol

were noted by Henry Herbert in 1779, as 'Some Views in the Neighbourhood of Rome, two of which were for the Bishop of Derry', presumably ordered during Bristol's third visit.¹⁵

In 1780 More painted the Landscape with Classical Figures (Plate 27), still at Ickworth, the only commission which can be identified today.¹⁶ In 1781 Irvine noted that More was at work on the Four Elements for Bristol,¹⁷ and in 1786 Bristol's clerk Shanahan recorded the arrival at Downhill of '6 Landscapes by More on large paper in Watercolours very beautiful'.¹⁸ More was kept extremely busy in the mid-1780s: in February 1787 he stated in a letter that he had just finished ten pictures for Bristol.¹⁹ A list of works of art at Downhill made by the Rev. G. Vaughn Sampson in his Statistical Survey of the County of Londonderry of 1802 lists 'A moon-light piece, by Moore', and 'A view of the Lake Nemi'.²⁰ J.P. Neale, in his Views of Seats of 1823, lists a 'Diana and Endymion' and 'A Portrait of Moore - By himself', presumably a copy of the Self-Portrait in the Uffizi.²¹ Thus the total number of works More produced for Bristol (including watercolours) was at least twenty. Most of the paintings were probably destroyed in the fire at Downhill in 1851.

In a draft letter to George Beaumont of 1786, More recorded an offer from Lord Bristol which he uncharacteristically refused - 'Lord Bristol offer'd me 150 Guines for a Storm which I have painted which I could not accept' ²² though in general he seems to have put this patron first; in the next entry in the Letterbook he apologised to Stuart for not having painted the three large landscapes Stuart had commissioned, due to orders given by 'Lord Bristol who engag'd me

before Your coming to Rome ...'²³ He gave the same apology two or three months later to Mr. Patteson of Norwich:

'my Acct. of L: Bristol who formerly gave me a Commission for Ten Large Pictures and on his Coming to Rome Insisted on their being finish'd as he was fitting up his Gallery'. 24

Although only one painting ordered by Bristol can be identified today with any certainty, there is a large canvas in the National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin, of a City on Fire (oil, 243 x 170cm, presented by Edward Cane in 1862), which is attributed to More.²⁵ It shows a classical city on fire, with violent flames in deep oranges and reds in the background right, and boats to the left. Figures are fleeing into the gloom, with two foreground figures which are more clearly defined. The sky is a deep slate grey, with grey rocks and dark green foliage in the right-hand foreground plane; there is little local colour except in the blue skirt of the female figure, and the red drapery of her companion. The whole painting is very loosely handled, with rich blobs of colour. The canvas is without frame or inscription, but the general style would suggest that it might be by More; he is certainly recorded as having painted a 'burning of Troy' in 1774 (see p. 93), though this looseness of handling and the scale of the canvas would suggest a later date.

The most surprising aspect of More's relationship with Lord Bristol is the generosity with which More was treated by a patron whose uncharitable behaviour towards other artists was in general so notorious. The personal gifts which he received may have been just rare instances of Bristol's erratically exuberant patronage, but they

may also have been prompted by More's social isolation (and the possible scandal surrounding his name). The first record of this personal interest is in 1786, when Bristol sent More some 'Casks of Porter' and cheese.²⁶ He received some more soon after, part of this consignment being for the 'Cave. Azerra'; More took it round to Azerra and reported that he might request some more at a later date.²⁷ It was definitely a personal gift, however, for More wrote in the next draft letter 'I thank You for Your kind Offer of the Beer, at present I am provided but in a future occasion I shall esteem it a favour as it is most excellent and I use it as a Cordial for the Spirits'.²⁸ Bristol also sent the artist some cloth - 'Your Lordships many thanks for the Poplin which is Just arriv'd it is Beautifulle and is already in the Taylors hands'.²⁹ Bristol also offered to send More any other things he might want: in one draft letter More requested 'a smale Case of English Books Containing the Intire Works Both Prose & Poetical of Swift, Pope, Dryden, Gay, the translations of the Tragedy of Sophocles, Eripides' - though this particular consignment was more of a favour on Bristol's part than a gift, as More asked that the cost be deducted from his account.³⁰ The choice of books is conservative, and not of great note. Neither Homer or Vergil is included, nor modern writers on art, but he may have possessed these works already.

Apart from the paintings which More supplied to Bristol, he also sent over to Ireland and England a continual supply of Old Master paintings, casts, and copies for his patron's grandiose and ever-growing collections (the actual items recorded, and the artists with whom More dealt in obtaining them, are discussed in Chapter Eleven). Bristol's mania for acquiring items was not solely linked to Gallery

plans, but was an insatiable desire for possession of all types of art treasures: in a letter to his daughter Lady Erne in 1792, he bemoaned 'But I have no good Rafael, nor any satisfactory Guido'.³¹

His eclectic art collection was to have suitably grand accommodation in his large, eccentric houses. For Downhill he planned a long Gallery with eleven tall windows (which, as Fothergill has pointed out, took up much of the wall space); beyond this was a smaller room, called the New Gallery.³² The ceiling of the main gallery was frescoed with a copy by William Pars of Guido's Aurora.³³ It was to fill this area that Bristol bought so many works of art on his third visit to Rome of 1777-9 - 'I am purchasing treasures for the Downhill which I flatter myself will be a Tusculanium'.³⁴

For Downhill, Ballyscullion and later, Ickworth, he planned two series of paintings,³⁵ of the Italian and German schools. By 1796 he had developed this into a series of five schools -

'The idea I have struck out of showing the historical progress of the art of Painting in all the five different schools of Germany and Italy I deem both happy and instructive. Galleries in general are both confused and uninformative. Mine, by classing the authors under the different schools, will show the characteristic Excellence of each, instruct the young mind and edify the old.

Venice - Coloring, Titian

Bologna - Composition, Guido

Roman - Sentiment, Rafael

Florence - Drawing, M. Angelo

Naples - Extravagance, Salvator Rose, Polimea ...'³⁶

Bristol's taste in art was unusual for his time, both in its eclecticism and his appreciation of the neglected Italian primitives: in a letter

to his daughter Lady Erne he wrote, 'by good luck I have found at Sienna a picture of Guido da Sienna with its date upon it 30 years older than Cimabue, generally supposed to be the restorer of Painting in Italy'.³⁷

Lord Bristol's architectural adventures have already been the subject of some research,³⁸ though new information traced in the course of this study indicates that Jacob More may have been a key figure in the selection of the architects and styles involved, and a missing link in the apparently strange choice of a little-known Italian architect for Bristol's third and grandest mansion at Ickworth, Suffolk. The three great houses Bristol built, none of which he ever lived in for long, were Downhill, Co. Derry (begun 1776), Ballyscullion, Co. Antrim (begun 1787), and Ickworth, Suffolk (begun 1796). Their outstanding characteristics were the grandeur and eccentricity of their designs, but Bristol tired of the projects before they were completed, abandoning Downhill and Ballyscullion soon after they were finished and not living to see Ickworth completed.

Downhill was constructed under the direction of Michael Shanahan, who may also have been the architect. He had worked for Bristol previously as a draughtsman recording geological formations, and he was a friend of James Wyatt, whose influences are apparent in the design.³⁹ John Soane, who must have been acquainted with More, was consulted about the plans for the dining-room, but Bristol seems to have argued with him, and he probably contributed little or nothing to

the design.⁴⁰

At Downhill Bristol built two temples in the park, the first of which he dedicated to his late brother, the Second Earl: begun in 1779, it was modelled on the Roman mausoleum at St. Remy in Provence.⁴¹ He also considered a copy of the temple of the Sibyl at Tivoli for this monument: it would even appear from one record that he had originally intended to transport the actual building, stone by stone, from Italy, a plan which would seem unbelievably absurd were it not for the magnitude of his other extravagant and eccentric projects; this plan may have been made later in his life, however, for Ickworth rather than Downhill, as the only record of it refers to Bristol's 'English' mansion. The reference comes from the Rev. Chetwode Eustace's A Classical Tour through Italy An. MDCCCII, in which he wrote:

'An English nobleman, well known in Italy for his numberless purchases, is reported to have offered a considerable sum for this ruin, with an intention of transporting it to England, and re-erecting it in his park. The proposal, it is said, was accepted by the inn-keeper, on whose property it stands; but fortunately, before the work of devastation was begun, a prohibition was issued by government, grounded on a declaration that ruins are public property, and of course not to be defaced or removed without express permission, which as it tended to strip the country of the monuments of its ancient glory, and consequently of its most valuable ornaments, the government could not and would not give. This attempt to transplant the temple of Vesta from Italy to England may perhaps do honour to the late Lord Bristol's patriotism or to his magnificence; but it cannot be considered as an indication of either taste or judgment'. 42

Unfortunately the writer does not tell us the date of this episode. Shanahan, apologising to his patron for the expense that the temple

for Bristol's brother would cost, pointed out that

'The building of a Temple equal to that at Tivoly would amount to more than the Mausoleum, it is not so conspicuous a figure, nor so well adapted to the situation, or intention, as the Mausoleum'.⁴³

The second temple he built, dedicated to his cousin Mrs. Mussenden, was constructed at Downhill between 1783 and 1785; it was modelled on the temple at Tivoli, and also that of Vesta in Rome.⁴⁴ Bristol at one point commissioned Soane to make drawings of the Tivoli temple in order to reconstruct a replica;⁴⁵ (he also wanted, at other times, to erect complete copies of the eccentric 'neo-classical' pagoda folly at Chanteloup, Tourraine,⁴⁶ and of Trajan's column in Rome - to the honour of William Pitt).⁴⁷

The second house, Ballyscullion, was begun in 1787; never completed, it was finally pulled down in 1813. The designer was probably Shanahan, with Francis Sandys acting as supervisor; many of the bills are signed by Sandys.⁴⁸ It was nearing completion in 1787, and it is interesting to note that Bristol ordered some work from one of More's collaborators in the Villa Borghese: in a letter to Lady Erne he wrote 'I want some beautifull chimney pieces pray tell Cardelli so'.⁴⁹

Lord Bristol's third house at Ickworth, the most grandiose of his architectural projects, was begun in 1796. It is the only one which still survives, but Bristol himself never saw it, relying on plans and models for his decisions about the designs. Shanahan had made a model of Ballyscullion, and Joseph Sandys made one of Ickworth.⁵⁰ Until very

recently the architect of Ickworth was presumed to be Francis Sandys, one of two brothers who worked on the Irish houses. He acted as the overseer of the building projects, while his brother the Rev. Joseph Sandys worked as Bristol's domestic chaplain. Francis Sandys is known to have been in Italy in the early 1790s: he had a letter of introduction to Canova in 1791,⁵¹ and was also recorded in Rome in 1793.⁵² Farington mentions that in 1796 Flaxman called on him in London along with 'Mr Sandys, an Architect', who had left Rome at the beginning of April, and was now building the house at Ickworth.⁵³ However, new research would indicate that both brothers were in Italy, and that they had lived with Jacob More in Rome: in the 'List of English Artists residing at Rome in the Year 1793' among the Flaxman Papers in the British Library, Flaxman noted three artists living in Strada Rosella:

'More	- landscape	- Strada Rosella	
Sandys	- landscape	- "	
F.Sandys	- architecture	- "	, 54

There was also a third Sandys, possibly the brother or father of these two. This was the Rev. William Sandys, who was probably the domestic chaplain to Lord Cowper. Among the Panshanger Papers is a letter from William Sandys to Cowper, dated 27 July 1780, written from St. Minver, Cornwall, in which he introduces More to his patron, then living in Florence:

'A Landscape painter in Rome, called More, to whom I have had the satisfaction of doing some services, has made me a present of two Views of Vesuvius ... I beg leave to recommend him to your Lordship's protection if occasion offers, & in case any thing should induce him to go to Florence, I have desired him to wait upon y^o ' 55

It was perhaps to this Sandys that More addressed several letters in his Letterbook of 1786-7.⁵⁶ In 1786 he sent some drawings to 'the R: Mr Sandys', wishing for

'a Sincere pleasure in the Continuance of Your Correspondence, relative to the Drawings I hope You will only look upon them as a Small token of our friendship'.⁵⁷

He also mentioned that he had given Sandys' compliments to Volpato, who asked to be remembered to him⁵⁸ - thus he had been in Rome previous to this date, probably with Cowper. The following year he wrote that 'I am glade to hear of Mr Coopers Welfare',⁵⁹ referring to More's Edinburgh colleague, Richard Cooper. Some copies of More's drawings, made by Cooper, are inscribed 'Sent to England for the Revd. Mr Sandys, Cornwall', and on page I, 'sent to the Revd. W. Sandys'.⁶⁰ He may have been the brother of another Sandys, recorded by Farington in his Diary in 1810: Farington went on a trip to Cornwall that year and met 'The Rev. Sampson Sandys, rector of Landewednack' who 'resides at Minver near Padstow'.⁶¹ He was a widower without children who 'told me He went to Rome in 1771; that He was acquainted with Jacob More the Landscape Painter ... [and] returned to England in 1774, being then 30 years old and in 1777 again went to Italy with Lord de Dunstanville' for about eighteen months.⁶² He supplied Farington with several pieces of information about More, quoted in this thesis.⁶³

Documents concerned with the construction of Ickworth show that the Sandys brothers were in charge of the building work.⁶⁴ Joseph Sandys' name is on the model of Ickworth, dated 1796 (still in the house), and Francis Sandys exhibited designs for Ickworth under his

own name at the Royal Academy in 1797.⁶⁵ The Rev.J.Sandys was officially in Ireland for the period 1792-1808, though he was certainly at Ickworth in 1796,⁶⁶ and the two brothers are even recorded as quarrelling over the arrangement of the Galleries in 1798.⁶⁷ But the later architectural commissions of Francis Sandys are so different in style that his status as the architect of the building has often been doubted.⁶⁸ The original designs were recently discovered,⁶⁹ and make it clear that the principal architect was the Italian Mario Asprucci (1764-1804). This information was published by Pamela Tudor-Craig in her article 'The Evolution of Ickworth' (1973); she gives as an explanation of the connection between Bristol and Asprucci

'Something is known of the Bishop's contacts with the Borgheses over casts and gems, and it might have been through this connection or even through Tatham, who was then studying with the younger Asprucci, that the Bishop came to commission the scheme'. 70

Asprucci worked with More in the Villa Borghese in the 1780s (his father was also the curator of the Borghese Gallery), designing the Temple of Aesculapius in the Giardino Inglese constructed by More (see pp.251-2). As there is no record of Bristol ever meeting the Prince Borghese, and since More worked with Asprucci, and lived with or very close to the Sandys brothers, it would suggest that it was More's recommendation, influence or connections which secured the commission for Asprucci.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

MORE AS AN AGENT AND DEALER

a. Old Master Paintings

Like Thomas Jenkins and James Byres, More became increasingly preoccupied with his work as an agent and dealer. The British appetite for acquiring Old Master paintings, and the boom in art exports from Italy which had begun with the rise of the Grand Tour at the beginning of the century, showed no sign of slowing down at its close. In 1770, even before More had left London, the dealer Goodall of Marshall Street, Westminster, 'was exhibiting more than a thousand pieces lately consigned from abroad, including many attributed by him to eminent masters', and as one dealer remarked, 'none pays so generously for real good pictures as the English'.¹

Inevitably, the paintings by the most popular Old Masters were becoming difficult to find by the mid-1780s, a circumstance which More lamented heartily to his patrons: 'I have been endeavouring to procure some Pictur's (sic) of the Masters that you wish for but have not yet been Sucessfull', he wrote to Thomas Harvey in 1785, and he went on to congratulate his patron on the acquisition of a Claude, a 'Master so rare to be found espicialy if it is in good preservation, I shall do my endeavour to make a Companion for it'.² Still unsuccessful the following year, he congratulated Sir George Beaumont on his 'having purchased a fine Claude', though he took the opportunity to warn him of forgeries,³ and in a letter to Harvey of 1787 he wrote 'if any good Genuine Picturs [by Claude] comes in my way I shall

aquaint You and the price but I almost despare of finding a real one, Salvator Rosa and Pousine are more easaly to be found'.⁴ The only possibly genuine Claude that More is recorded to have owned is one of a pair of paintings attributed to this artist in the sale of More's effects at Christie's in 1796: the first of the pair, A landscape, a warm serene summer evening, sold for only £51-9-0, but the second, The debarkation of Cleopatra, sold to Francis for £262-10-10, which implies acceptance of its attributed authorship.⁵

The great variety of works in which More dealt is well illustrated by a letter he sent to Lord Cowper in 1782, in which he wrote

'I have a few antient Pictures to dispose of ... a Picture by Nicolo Pousin 4 Palms 8 Inches long by 3 Palms 5 Inches high, the Subject is Christ and the Samaritan Woman there is a Woman going away with two Pitchers of Water and the Díciples coming up a hill at a small distance, there is great Expression in the figures and Beautifully Painted a Picture by Carlo Marati 8 Palms 2 Inches by 6 Palms 2 Inches, it is a figure of Christ in the attitude of Baptism it is much larger than life and takes in the figure to about the midle of the thigh it as a Picture of great effect and thought by evry Artist to be one of the finest things of that Master, a Picture of St Sabastian with many figurs it is of the Venetian School and finly Collour'd but I am not certain yet by what Master, d^o: a Sacrifice by Romanelli, both these last are the Size of the Pousin d^o: a Madonna With two Angels Slight by Cav: d'Arpino'. 6

There are records of various other Old Master exports in More's extant correspondence. In a draft letter to Sandys of 1787 he wrote 'You ask me about my old Picturs. I sold them very well the Greatest Part to the Earl of Breadalbane and the Carlo Marato to the Earl of Bristol'.⁷ Bristol requested More to look out for the work of specific artists:

a few months later More wrote in a draft letter to this patron 'I shall certainly do all in my power to procure a Picture of Raffael tho it will be difficult and will tak some time to find an undoubt one of that Master', and he referred to the many forgeries of Raphael, Reni and Titian, adding that 'the picture of Cupid that your Lordship has purchas'd is an Indoubted original all the best Judges who has seen it all agree'.⁸ He did not buy only for specific patrons: in 1790 he informed Harvey that he had bought 'some Landskips by Mompert ... Seven large 5 feet 4 Inches by 3 feet 9 Inches: and 5 small ones 3 feet by 2 feet 3 Inches, if any of them would suit you I can lett You have them very reasonable'.⁹ Farington reported that his dealing activities were very successful, commenting after his death that

'More, the Landscape painter, was concerned with an Italian in picture dealing; and had a concern in the picture of Parmegiano, bought by the Marquiss of Abercorn, for 1500 Gs. - Some other profitable engagements of this sort He got money by; & was very well employed in his professional capacity'.¹⁰

Farington's words suggest that More had an Italian partner in his dealing, though no name is recorded, and it does not fit with More's general tendency to work independently; he may have been referring to a colleague such as Vincenzo Pacetti - in 1790 Pacetti recorded, in his journal, taking the Pope's agent Franzoni to More 'to see a picture by Ludovico Caracci, to propose it to the Pope'.¹¹

More rarely mentioned the provenance of his Old Master paintings, though he once noted that it was best to buy from 'privat Families', from which they could be bought more cheaply than from commercial dealers.¹² In a letter to his sister of 1790 (now lost but quoted by

the Edinburgh writer Thomas Constable), he wrote

'at Venice I purchased some very fine, but on my return to Rome I have been still more lucky; as there are some of the old families at Rome now extinct, and their pictures having been so neglected and dirty, that they do not see through their beauties'. 13

Many of the Old Masters were 'restored' by the agents who sold them, and More was no exception: in 1790 he informed Harvey that 'I am getting them [the Mompers] fresh lin'd and clean'd and any thing that is a little damag'd I touch it myself'.¹⁴ He wrote to his sister (in the letter quoted above) that

'What I have purchased I have got cleaned and restored, so that they are as fine and in as good preservation as when first painted'. 15

The sale of Old Master paintings was so lucrative that forgeries, perpetrated by British as well as Italian dealers, were commonplace; it was 'a most lucrative employment, which our country-men, in their ardour for acquisitions in virtù, were better qualified to encourage than to detect'.¹⁶ The leaders of the British art world had hardly set a good example. A series of letters in the Rutland papers between James Byres, Sir Joshua Reynolds, and the Duke of Rutland, records how Byres, in order to remove Poussin's Seven Sacraments from Rome to sell to Rutland despite an official ban, had made copies of the paintings, substituting them for the originals, which were taken away 'one at a time ... as the copies are made and put up in their place'.¹⁷ Their attitudes were totally cynical, and Reynolds defended his actions by stating that 'it is very probable these copies will be sold again,

and other copies put in their place'.¹⁸ With the President of the Royal Academy taking such a view, it was hardly surprising that others felt justified in following his example. More's own colleagues did so quite readily: Jenkins, Piranesi and Capavecci produced forged antiques,¹⁹ and even Thomas Jones admitted in later life to being 'guilty of a few innocent Impostures - by making Imitations of my old Master, Wilson and Zuccharelli'.²⁰ More always fiercely protested his own honesty, attacking the reputation of others as a defence. When lamenting the difficulty of finding a Raphael for Lord Bristol he wrote

'it gives me great pain to see the number of Pictures that are produc'd every Year by the Picture dealers and sold to the English Gents ... the Picture of Cupid which Your Lordship has purchas'd is an Indoubted original all the best Judges who has seen it all agree'.²¹

Yet in the letter to his sister of 1790 he commented on his own finds that 'everybody is surprised how I have met with such pictures, which are so rare and looked upon as impossible'.²²

Of More's many Old Master purchases, at least two are likely to have been forgeries. One, which may have been included in the sale of his effects in 1796 (see p.309), was discussed by Farington:

'More, like others who have engaged in picture dealing, attempted to impose on ignorant persons, pictures which were not genuine. One which He called Michl. Angelo, He induced Prince Augustus to recommend to the King: but Flaxman & others convinced the Prince that it was not a work of that master'.²³

A second instance was that mentioned by Thomas Constable, who discussed a supposed Van Dyck in the possession of Sir William Gibson Craig of

Riccarton, sent from Italy by More. He stated in a letter that it had been

'purchased at Rome in the year 1790, by Mr. Jacob More, the celebrated painter, who thus describes it in a letter to his sister, Mrs. Simpson, the original of which is now before me: - "I have been remarkably fortunate in finding some capital pictures of good masters ... One is the original picture of Belisarius by Vandyke, which he painted at Rome, and is the most celebrated picture of that Master, and must have been painted for the family of Nunez, as it appears in the inventory of that family. 'Tis a wonderful picture for the expression and the painting. Rome 28th. Dec. 1790".

Mr. More having died shortly after the date of the above letter, the picture of Belisarius was sent from Rome with Mr. More's other effects, and remained in Mrs. Simpson's possession till 1805, when it was purchased by my partner, the late Alexander Gibson Hunter of Blackness ... and it has continued our property ever since'. 24

Constable noted in the same letter that the provenance was not entirely correct - 'Mr. More's account of this picture ... does not agree with the words thus quoted' - yet he accepted the authenticity of the work on the strength of More's explanation.

As there were never enough Old Masters available to satisfy demand, picture-copying also flourished during this period as a recognised artistic employment. More, though not himself a copyist, acted as agent to several other artists who were, particularly in supplying works for Lord Bristol (see section d. of this chapter). There was no shortage of copyists: many were young men taking on the work to support themselves while pursuing their studies, and James Northcote complained in 1778 that it was difficult to obtain such commissions as the market was controlled by 'those Cursed Antiquarians who ... have all the power'.²⁵

In 1785 More, apologising to Harvey for being unable to supply high-quality originals, wrote

'I would propose to you to have some good Groups Copied from the Picturs of the best Masters whose most Capital works we have here in Rome Particularly Caracches, Dominchino, Pousin, Salvador Rosa &c and as there are artists here who are very excellent at Coping I think it would answer your Purpose, and being done under my Eye they would be done with Care and Attention'. 26

A year later his account with Harvey included copies of a Domenichino, and two Guercinos.²⁷ In 1786 he recommended to George Beaumont some copies made by his 'Young man' -

'some Admirable Copies from Titian in oill Particularly the S^t Sabastiano at Monte Cavalo, the [?] and the Amore Profane in the Burghese which the Apearance of originale, has finishd the Gloudiator in Tinted Paper with chalk which I intend to send You and one of the Niobes Children which I think You mentiond'. 28

The most difficult artist to copy (and also to forge) was Claude; the sheer delicacy of the colour harmony defeated even the most skilled artists. More admitted the problem to Harvey:

'relative to the Copies of Claud I shall Consider who will be capable of coping them with Justice Claud of all Masters is the most difficult on account of the delicacy of the and the truth of the tints I shall write You about the copies when I have consider'd who will be the most proper person to do them'. 29

He had little success in finding anyone, and three months later admitted having delayed in writing to Harvey again,

'not having found a Person that gave me Sufficient Satisfaction in Coping for if Coppies are not done well the are worse than non as they Convey faults upon the Master'. 30

More may well have been intending to follow the examples of Jenkins and Byres, who forsook their original careers as artists to become agents and dealers. The latter part of the manuscript Letterbook discusses dealing matters as much as it does More's own commissions - though there is always a certain amateur air about the way More wrote excitedly about a new find. As the the following sections will demonstrate, More not only dealt in paintings, and he may simply have been willing to undertake any type of commission his patrons asked of him, without any one particular interest.

b. Casts of Antique Statues

More was involved in procuring casts of antique statues for at least two patrons, Lord Bristol and Lord Cowper. This type of commission brought both bureaucratic as well as financial problems: the owners of antique statues sometimes gave permission for casts to be made by only one agent, or on only one occasion, in order to minimise the risk of damage. The status of the purchaser was thus as important as the fee, and only well-known collectors could hope to obtain permission to take a cast of a really famous work. Lord Bristol wrote to his daughter Lady Erne in 1777

'The Pope has granted me a permission to take a model from the Apollo Belvedere, a favor rarely granted but to Crown heads I suppose his holyness is so accustomed to consider Mitred ones on a footing with Them that in my case he made no distinction'. 1

The work itself was generally carried out by Italians: More is recorded as dealing with Carlo Albacini and 'Sig. Togliami'.²

The first cast commission mentioned in More's MS Letterbook was the very difficult one of the Farnese Hercules. The matter was of some urgency - More mentions no details of its sale, but Goethe, in January 1787, noted in his diary

'Rome is threatened with a great loss. The King of Naples is going to transport the Farnese Hercules₃ to his palace. All the artists are in mourning'.³

By 20 June 1787 it had been moved to Naples.⁴ Bristol evidently managed to obtain permission for a cast, but the practicalities of carrying out the commission were not easy. More had discussed the matter with Albacini, who

'tells me that he has maid the Mould which was imadiatly sent to Naples, but the director of the King Collection is to be in Rome in a few days and he will then make Application to have a Cast which if it is to be granted at all he thinks he will obtain it, if not there is a form in Venise in the Possession of Sig Tacette from which we may procure a Cast, but that of Naples will be much preferable being fresh and having the original Legs to it I have sent to Mr Day about the figure he sais he cannot Yet determine upon the price'.⁵

The fee proposed was in fact very high: More wrote again to Bristol, stating that the cost of the

'Collosal figure would be 500 Crowns the Director of the King of Naples Museum is just Arivd in Rome so that I Shale do my Endeavours to procure the Cast of the Hercules'.⁶

More was certainly prudent about money, for he wanted to strike a good bargain for even this wealthy patron:

'as to the Hercules I find the director willing to give a Cast of the Hercules but he asks a most unreasonable price no less than 200 Crowns pretending th it is fresh but we must lett this Cool a little as 100 Crowns would be very handsom price we are sure of having one as there is also a form of it at Venice'. 7

Two months later More had still not concluded the deal:

'I shall write by first post to Lady Ern about the Hercules, I mentiond in my last letter the Director had consented to give a Cast but as he ask'd the most un[natural] price of 200 Crowns and 100 is thought to be very well paid espicialy as there is a mould making of the Laocoon which is much more difficult and the price is to be at 80 Crowns as the Groop is so much admir'd there will be a great demand for it as the mould may Soon become blunt a fresh Cast Valuable Col: Campble is Sett down for the first and I was glad to take the Oppertunity of Setting down as [?] for Your Lordship there is one also making from the Apolo but Your Lordship has already got that'. 8

Whether Bristol finally obtained the cast is not known - it is not recorded in any of his houses.⁹

In 1788 More took on another commission, this time for Lord Cowper.

He wrote to him in August

'I receiv'd a Letter from M^r Saunders soon after his Arival at Florence with orders to procure a Cast of the Apollo for Your Lordship. I imidiatly gave orders for it on purpose to gett a fresh Cast, I wrote to M^r Saunders to acquaint your Lorship of it, but as I have not heard from him I am afraid he has not receivd my letter, as I was Anxious to know what Your Lordship thought about obtaining permission to Mould the Venus, it would be of great Advantage to the Artists if it could be obtain'd'. 10

A cast of the Apollo Belvedere, including instructions for assembling the various parts, was delivered to Cowper later that year; the accompanying letter, which included a sketch of the sculpture, was from Charles Grignion, and did not mention More.¹¹ The cast was recorded in the entrance hall of Cowper's Florentine home at his death.¹²

In 1789 More was again negotiating to take a cast, this time from the collection of his Italian patron Prince Borghese. The cast was probably intended for George Cumberland, for More wrote to him in June:

'I am sorry to find that the Prince Burghese, will not grant the permission, to take a mould from the Antinous, the Gladiator having been damaged formerly in making a mould made him take the resolution not to grant that favour for the future, I mention'd that the process that this man took was very different from what they us'd formerly as a proof that he had taken a Cast from the Apollo which is a very delicate Statue and has not Suffer'd in the least - but the Prince having refus'd that favour at the request of Cardinals and Princes for Crownd heads, he could not now grant it without giving offence'. 13

It was, it appears, a tiresome and relatively unrewarding type of commission for More to undertake. How long he did the work is not known; the only references are to be found in the MS Letterbook of 1786-7. His other dealing activities, described in the previous and following sections, seem to have been far more rewarding and less time-consuming than this task of seeking permission for work which could often be unsuccessful.

c. Other activities as Agent and Dealer

More dealt in a number of other goods, taking on commissions as his patrons requested, and picking up goods that he considered bargains and then selling them, often proposing them directly to his patrons in Britain.

In 1784, More showed his business acumen in a commission he dealt with for Lord Cowper, acting as agent for the Roman craftsman Jacques Raphael, who was making mosaic pieces for Cowper, then living in Florence. More exercised his own judgement on the price and quality of the articles, noting in a letter to Cowper that

'I could not help thinking his demands too much, I desir'd him to make another skitch and to consider well upon it and to lett me know his lowest price... [as] there are others here who work in Mosaic who will do them considerably less in the Price but their work is not so fine I should be glade to have your Lordships opinion'. 1

In the same letter he also mentioned a commission for a snuffbox from Raphael - 'I have not yet fixt upon the design for the snuff Box as I want something from the Antique new and fancifull'. The next extant letter to Cowper, of 5 June 1784, accompanied

'two designs of Jacques Raphael for the Mosaic Tables ... if Your Lordship chuses to lay out so much money upon them in that Case I should make a design myself the same size of the Table which I believe would come better than either of these two, I have Inclos'd two designs he had by him for Snuff-Box's they are from the antique, but I shall find still something more fancifull'. 2

In another letter, of 25 August, he discussed the mosaics again, and

sent 'two pieces of Mosaik for the Snuff Boxes' showing pigeons, which he asked Cowper to return if they were not to his liking.³

Also in 1787, More was negotiating the sale of a mosaic pavement from Cardinal Casali, on behalf of Lord Bristol. When More called on Casali's nephew, who was selling the pavement, More was canny enough not to mention the name of the prospective buyer, and

'wish'd to know the lowest price that he would put upon the Pavement and if reasonable I should propose it to a friend that possible would purchase it'.⁴

The nephew told More that his uncle had estimated it at ten thousand sequins, but that half that amount would suffice; More offered a thousand, and left the matter for the time being.⁵ His next reference to it, four months later, reported that no progress had been made,⁶ and it is not known whether the deal was finally completed. Bristol had shown an interest in mosaic pavements at an earlier date: Pasquin related that the German artist Reagel, a student of mosaic, was 'invited to Ireland in 1784, by the Earl of Bristol, to construct the pavement of a temple in his diocese'.⁷

More also supplied smaller items to his British patrons, such as prints, fans, paints, brushes and pencils. In 1786 he sent Sandys and Harvey the new set of prints by Volpato after Raphael;⁸ he seems to have had a standing order for prints with Thomas Harvey, for in 1787 he wrote that Raphael Morghen had just published two new prints

'one is the Caccia of Diana in the Burghese Pallace by Dominichin a Celebrated Picture the other is Mont Parnassus in Albano by Mengs which I shall purchase for You and any other that I think worth'. 9

More also sent some 'Illumind prints' to Lord Bristol in 1787.¹⁰

In the same year he sent Bristol some painted fans; More's own expense account in his Letterbook in mid-1787 lists 'fans',¹¹ and on the next page, in a draft letter to Bristol, he mentioned that he was sending 'a Small tin Cass with fans', and went on

'I am sorrow that Cammille Batt could not finish the fans for the oppertunity the Aurora he painted is very beautiful and a pitty to be us'd as a fan he charges 20 sequins each I have in the mean time Sent thre of an Inferior Sort being very well adapted for fans, one is Aroreo with ornament Another Bacchus and Ariadne, from Guido with ornament and one a View of Piazza St Pietro without'. 12

A month or two later he wrote 'I have already order the Aurora by Camille Batt which he dos most beautifully'.¹³ These subjects were very commonly used for fan-painting in the eighteenth century; when More acted as a guide to Miss Mary Berry in 1784 she noted that he had taken her 'to a Painter of fans bought two of the ruins of Rome'; this may have been the same painter.¹⁴

The most costly item More dealt in (apart from paintings) was the pigment ultramarine, which he is recorded as having supplied to Harvey and Beaumont in 1787. It was the only pigment which was best obtained from Italy; More wrote in a letter to Harvey of 1785 'as to the Collours you have them rather in London than here only the Ultramarine

which is greatly cheeper and may be more depended upon than what You buy in London'.¹⁵ In a letter quoted by Anderdon, he apologised the following year for the higher cost - it 'had risen greatly in price on account of the scarcity of the Lapis Lazuli'.¹⁶ More also supplied Beaumont with ultramarine that year.¹⁷ It was not an easy commodity to obtain, even in Italy (natural ultramarine was mined in Afghanistan, and exported to the Mediterranean countries),¹⁸ and even More could not supply it immediately 'the process of it being tedious - and there is only one man that makes it that I can trust - so that I am Oblig'd to have patience with him'.¹⁹ More also sent brushes and pencils to Harvey.²⁰

Most of More's purchases, and paintings of his own hand, were exported to Britain via Leghorn (Livorno); licences had to be obtained for many of the goods, and More lists these in his accounts.²¹ Exporting from Rome was by no means automatically permitted: Irvine claimed in 1781 that it was even necessary to bribe the Pope's antiquary to export certain high-quality goods.²² The illegal export of Poussin's Seven Sacraments (see pp.277-8) had a serious effect on official attitudes, and Sir Joshua Reynolds informed the Duke of Rutland in 1786 that as a result of that particular smuggling episode the Pope now imposed heavy restrictions, insisted on inspections, and 'in consequence of this smuggling it is now death to attempt sending pictures out of Rome without them first being examined',²³ though gross malpractice did in fact continue. Antiques were the most affected: Flaxman stated in 1788 that it was relatively easy to export paintings, both old and new, but that statues, bas-reliefs and vases were often kept back by the Pope.²⁴ Only one export list of More's is

recorded by Bertolotti in his Esportazione dei belli Arte di Roma
 - a group of antique statues, sent out on 22 August 1786: (in translation)

'Jacob More: three small fragments of Cupids; a bust of Faustina the Younger and other similar of unknown men; three chimney pieces of marble; three vases of marble with pedestals; a bust of Faustina the Younger and two alabaster vases from Civitavecchia, estimated at 100 scudi'. 25

The sheer bulk of goods exported was quite enormous: in September 1786 More sent twenty cases to Lord Bristol, which he did not remark upon as unusual.²⁶ Most were sent via Leghorn, as More noted in his accounts,²⁷ and some of the cases for Bristol were sent on ships which sailed straight to Derry, avoiding a change of cargo in England.²⁸ Several brief letters and notes to agents (whose names appear in the correspondence of other artists in Rome) are found in the Letterbook, and references to them are made in extant letters - Fletcher and Westley, Dorrin, Shedel, Prescott and Herries being the most common.²⁹

Like many artists and agents, More was employed as a guide or 'cicerone' by the Grand Tourists, though it is difficult to ascertain from the accounts of visitors to Rome exactly how professional was his work in this capacity; Sir William Forbes, for example, whom More accompanied round Rome in 1793, regarded More as 'my Old friend'.³⁰ More was certainly a professional cicerone to Miss Mary Berry in 1783 and 1784.³¹ On 26 December 1783 she visited More's studio,³² and on 7 January 1784 she 'Went with M^r More the Painter, to M^r Dernot's a history painter to M^r Hamiltons, to a young French Student ... to a Painter of fans ... M^r Pitt M^r Asheton & M^r More dined with us'.³³

On 22 March she visited 'Doria Pallace with M^r More & St Peters',³⁴ and on 16 April 1784 she again visited artists' studios in his company.³⁵ Two days later he dined with the Berrys, supplying the party with local gossip.³⁶

d. Commissions for Lord Bristol

More acted as the agent for many artists in Rome working on commissions for Lord Bristol. Most of the information about these activities comes from the manuscript Letterbook, and they show that More was extremely busy in the mid-1780s, managing the productions of other artists as well as dealing in art goods himself and continuing to produce his own paintings.

There are several artists whose names crop up repeatedly in the extant correspondence and Letterbook. One of these was James Nevay who was described by James Irvine in 1781 as 'from Edinburgh & is one of the strangest characters imaginable'.¹ More had perhaps known him in Edinburgh, and his father may have been 'David Nevay, merchant, burgess and guildmaster' (More's own father was also a merchant).² Little is known of Nevay's life, but he had arrived in Rome by 1755: in 1774 Abbé Grant noted that he was busy finishing a commission in order to return to Britain,³ though in fact he remained in Rome until at least 1794, sending pictures regularly to London exhibitions.⁴ In the late 1760s he was one of the tutors (along with Gavin Hamilton and James Byres) of the Scottish painter Anne Forbes, and possibly a rival with John Runciman for her affections.⁵ In 1786 More informed Lord Bristol that Nevay was working on a copy of the

Aldobrandini Marriage;⁶ it was finished by December of that year,⁷ and was later noted in Bristol's collection at Downhill.⁸ He then started preparatory sketches for an Alexander, also for Bristol; he was always short of money, and More informed his patron that 'his Circumstances' were such that he would need advance payment for this commission.⁹ Nevay did communicate with Bristol directly about other matters, with More's approval.¹⁰ He also negotiated on More's behalf for a painting belonging to Count Shambrosky in Naples to be sent to Bristol.¹¹ Nevay is interesting in the context of this study in that he is one of the few artists for whom More acknowledges admiration (along with Joseph Wright and Richard Cooper). Nevay was something of a recluse, and his independence may have appealed to More. In a draft letter to Bristol, apropos of some misunderstanding, More wrote

'I have acquainted Mr: Navey of Your Lordships Generous and Benevolent disposition to have him so that I think Mr: Nevey ought to look upon the canvass and like Shakespear Cry out for a muse of fire etc'. 12

More's high regard for Nevay is also demonstrated by the fulsome praise of the Aldobrandini, 'Mr: Navey Copy is exceedingly beautiful and Carfully done',¹³ and in his citing of Nevay's judgement on the question of disputed attribution - 'Mr Day St. Francis is certainly not a Guido and Mr Navey has no doubt of its being a Copy'.¹⁴

More also acted as the agent to Lord Bristol for James Durno (c.1745-1795), a much respected member of the British community in Rome who, like More, had come from a humble background and studied for some time in London before coming out to Rome in 1774. He had trained under Casali and West, and had won a premium from the Society of

Artists in 1772; he intended to stay in Rome for only a short time, but remained until his death in 1795.¹⁵ Thomas Jones recorded meeting him in the English Coffee House, along with More and other London acquaintances in 1776.¹⁶ He is first recorded in connection with More in 1785, but he had already executed several commissions for Bristol before that date.¹⁷ By 1785 he was a 'recognised' artist: the Roman art journal Memorie per le belle Arti stated that year that he 'holds a distinguished position among the foreign artists who live in Rome'.¹⁸ In 1786 Durno was working on two Shakespearean subjects for Bristol, Falstaff and Cymbeline. The Falstaff was a copy of the original by the artist, engraved for Boydell's Shakespeare Gallery;¹⁹ More informed Bristol in January 1787 that it was nearly completed, and that it compared well with the original,²⁰ which had been praised in Memorie per le belle Arti earlier in the year.²¹ A Falstaff reviewing his troops was listed at Downhill in 1823.²² The other Shakespearean subject was of Imogen, from Cymbeline;²³ the critic of Memorie per le belle Arti also noted a Coriolanus later in 1785, also for Lord Bristol.²⁴ In 1787 Durno also started work on a Hector taking leave of Andromache²⁵ and six months later was 'making Studdies for the Large Picture of Priam'²⁶ for Bristol, which More thought 'the best he has done'.²⁷ This, and another Homeric subject, were praised in Memorie per le belle Arti and Giornale delle belle Arti.²⁸

Durno was also a dealer in his own right: in 1783 Pacetti went to see a picture by him which he was hoping to sell to Prince Borghese, and the following year Durno brought two English people to Pacetti's studio.²⁹ He later worked for Gavin Hamilton and Lord Palmerston, and the year after More's death was partly responsible for getting permission for British artists to bring their own work into Britain without paying

duties.³⁰ Thus he probably worked through More only for the sake of convenience in dealing with this one extremely difficult patron, rather than relying on More as a source of employment. He did in fact quarrel with Bristol in 1795, over his refusal to let a Priam painting be exhibited.³¹ The inventory of his possessions, made after his death in 1795, included several items listed as 'marcato More'.³²

Thomas Day (d.1841), the miniaturist and copyist, also probably knew More in London, for he too was one of the party of London acquaintances whom Jones had met at the English Coffee House in 1776.³³ He is the only artist with whom More is recorded to have had open arguments, and More's references to him in the Letterbook show very clearly how great an effect an agent could have on an artist's reputation. More confidently denounced Day's ability and integrity to Bristol, making out a veritable list of complaints against him. In late 1786 More had 'acquainted Mr Day Your not having received the Acquatin', which Bristol had evidently ordered.³⁴ A couple of months later More sarcastically denigrated Day's artistic ambitions - 'Relative to Mr Day he is Dicile in the School of [?] and doubt but he will rival the Master',³⁵ and he went on to accuse him of being obstreperous and possibly lazy - Pye wished to retouch some copies he had been working on, but 'Mr Day got some of his Young men to pass them over ... I desir'd Mr Day to send them to my house to be examind which he refusd to do and packd them up of his own Accord ... Mr Day is far from being Liberale to those who Copys for him'.³⁶ A few months later More criticised Day's work as a copyist:

'as to Mr Days Copy of St Michael he think it very Indifferent the head of the Angle having little or no resemblance of the Original but it was for a Place not much Seen it has the General appearance Mr Day ask'd £60'. 37

Day continued to work for More, however, and was negotiating the cost of a cast for Bristol, through More, in 1787;³⁸ but soon afterwards his integrity as a dealer of Old Masters was also questioned by More - 'Mr Day St Francis is certainly not a Guido'.³⁹ At about the same time, Bristol himself questioned Day's prices, quite independently of any information received from More: in a letter to his daughter Lady Erne he wrote 'Elizabeth [another daughter] has wrote me for £50 to pay two pictures of M.^r Day's: how can two miniatures come to £50'.⁴⁰ How far More's attitudes towards Day were justified is difficult to judge: neither More nor Day are recorded elsewhere as being difficult people to deal with, and More was perhaps trying to prevent Day from taking over any of his own work for Bristol. Day certainly was an extremely successful entrepreneur later on: Farington, for example, recorded his own meeting with him in 1801 (the first time they had met since 1774, when Day had left for Rome), and noted that he had been busy acquiring Old Masters from Italy.⁴¹ After More's death, he continued to have connections with Bristol, though it is not clear in what capacity.⁴²

Another artist who worked for Bristol through More was Thomas Pye (fl.1769- after 1794); he had been a pupil of Benjamin West in London and, like More and Durno, had come out to Rome for a few years study, but stayed for over twenty years.⁴³ More informed Bristol in September 1786 that Pye had finished a 'Copey of Borgia' for him,⁴⁴

and the next year More listed 'Mr Pys Copy of Machiavel & Cesar Borgia' in a shipment for Bristol.⁴⁵ More had reservations about the quality of the work: some of the copies he had seen were not in the true 'Ton of Titian's Collouring' and he 'Insisted on their being retouch'd' (which Pye would have done, were he not prevented by the difficulties caused by Day).⁴⁶ Pye not only copied works in Roman collections, for early in 1787 More wrote that

'Mr Pye has shon me a letter from Mr Madden with Your Lordships order for him to go to Parma to Copy the Picture of Corregio and that I should advance him the money for his Journey and for his mintainance'. 47

Immediately after More's death Pye took over much of his work as agent to Lord Bristol (see p.311).

More also dealt on at least one occasion with the notorious Robert Fagan (d.1816);⁴⁸ in 1790 he informed Bristol that he had 'had the honour to accompany Lady Erne to see Mr. Fagan's copy of Domenichino's Picture at Grotta Feratto, which we think a good Copy'.⁴⁹ Like Thomas Pye, Fagan took over much of More's work as an agent after his death (see p.311).

More also mentioned several Italian artists, though there are few details of their transactions, possibly because they received most of their commissions directly from Bristol in Rome.. One such artist is 'Sig Conte' who was possibly Domenico Conte.⁵⁰ In December 1786 More informed Bristol that

'Sig Conte who painted the Picture of the Disciples at Emaus as the Picture is Large and having taken great Pains on it he has put the Price of 200 Sequins but he would be very willing to take whatever less Your Lordship will put upon it he has made the Alteration of the Breaking of the Bread &c. which is much for the better'. 51

Another Italian artist was Angelini, probably Costanzo Angelini (1760-1853), who provided plate drawings for Volpato and Morghen's series of prints of statues in 1786.⁵² In March 1787 More wrote to Bristol concerning

'that fine Copy of Jupiter by Angelini which that poor man was obligd to sell to Sigr Volpate for much less than the Value being in Want'. 53

Angelini was now ready to produce more work, having recently recovered from a long illness and being 'in much want of Employment'.⁵⁴ More also dealt with a commission for

'Francesco Pulini as he follows the number of Titus Baths as mark in the Letter some of which contain only ornaments like Chinese, in case Your Lordship does not particularly wish to have these he might paint those that have figures in place of them which he think would be better'. 55

The 'Titus Baths' decorations had been well-known to the artists of the Renaissance, who examined the murals and scratched their names on the walls; they were now studied by students and other visitors to Rome.⁵⁶

Three Italian sculptors providing work for Lord Bristol are also named in More's Letterbook. The first was Falcione or Falconi, who in September 1786 had approached More 'wishing to have some money in

Advance for the two Statues which he is doing for Your Lord'.⁵⁷ More decided to give him enough to cover the expense of the marble he had already purchased.⁵⁸ Bristol perhaps disapproved of this, for three months later More informed him that he had told Falcione 'that when the Statues are Compleatly finishd with Care and gives Satisfaction to the Judges that he shall then by pay'd the whole as in the Agreement'.⁵⁹ Two other sculptors mentioned were 'Sigr Raggi' and 'Sposini', who sold a 'large head of Adrian' to Bristol.⁶⁰ A 'Carlo Riggi', perhaps the same person, is mentioned in More's own accounts in his Letterbook the following year.⁶¹ Riggi was perhaps a relation of Tommaso Righi (1727-1802), the sculptor and interior decorator, who became an Academician of S. Luca in 1760, and who worked on interior decorations in the Villa Borghese in the 1780s.⁶² 'Sposini' was probably Sposino, who also worked with another sculptor Albercini - in 1794 Thomas Jenkins took Lord Berwick to see 'Albercini and Sposino'.⁶³ In the 1790s Bristol ordered a large group, 'Hercules slaying the Hydra' from Sposino, perhaps after More's death.⁶⁴

More also played an unfortunate part in a commission Lord Bristol gave to the British sculptor John Flaxman. It is only recorded in one manuscript document, which is the authorisation of payment from Bristol for the large-scale group sculpture The Fury of Athamas, now at Ickworth.⁶⁵ John Flaxman (1755-1826) had come to Rome in 1787, intending to stay for only two years, but remaining for seven; in 1790, on a recommendation from Canova, Bristol commissioned the sculpture (which kept Flaxman in Rome longer than he had intended) for a total fee of £600.⁶⁶ The authorisation, signed by Bristol and dated 5 March 1790, reads

'Mr Flaxman is to make the Group The Fury of Athamas, of the Size of the Laocoon for the Price of about 600 Guinias - Mr. More will be so good as to Supply him Gradually wth. the Sums necessary & to give his Genius every Encouragement he desires. Bristol'. 67

The contract seemed to the sculptor a very reasonable one,⁶⁸ but the work took far longer than expected, and left him in debt.⁶⁹

Annotations on the authorisation note show that the payments were made on time, though all the money had been claimed when the work was still only half done; there is therefore no justification for Farington's remark, repeated by various other writers, that Lord Bristol had been 'delaying payments'.⁷⁰

It was perhaps because of Flaxman's experience with Bristol that Antonio Canova refused to produce any sculptures for him. Canova had in fact agreed to do work for Bristol in 1790, but Bristol had infuriated him by telling him that his prices were too high;⁷¹ in order to ingratiate himself into the sculptor's favour, Bristol sent him fulsome letters of praise,⁷² and in 1792 he ordered More to send him a gift of a print, accompanied by a letter which reads (in translation)

'Jacob More pays his respects to Sig. Canova, and sends him the print of the death of Lord Chatham, which Lord Bristol begs Sig. Canova to accept from him as a testimony of the true esteem in which he holds the merit and the character of Sig. Canova'.⁷³

The work described in this chapter - the sales of Old Master paintings, of casts from antique statues, of prints and fans, pigments and brushes, and the business negotiations undertaken for Lord Bristol - together make up an impressively heavy load of work for one individual. It is therefore hardly surprising that More's own landscape paintings suffered as a result, for he would not have had the time or energy to devote himself to his creative work. Whether he would finally have given up painting for dealing (as did Byres and Jenkins) can only be a matter of conjecture, though his steady output of large landscape canvases right up until his death would suggest that he wished to retain his status as an artist above all. It was also financially sound to continue his work as an artist, and More would not have taken any unnecessary business risk. It would seem that he enjoyed taking up as many different rôles as possible, seeing himself as both an international artist and an entrepreneur.

CHAPTER TWELVETHE LAST YEARSa. The 'Panorama of Rome'.

Many of the British artists, anticipating war between France and Italy, came home in the early 1790s. As most of the French had by this time already left, it was an Indian Summer for the British artists and dealers still working in the city; William Theed wrote in 1793

'The French are leaving Rome as fast as possible ...
As for we English, are in the highest esteem
from the principle of our being likely to go to
war with the French'. 1

George Walker, writing of More in 1807, said that 'Some time before his death, he had orders for as many Pictures as would have required several years to complete',² though since More's patrons were chiefly British, this by no means implies that he would have had to remain in Rome to carry out his commissions. In his last extant letter, to George Walker, of 1 May 1793, More wrote:

'I sent the Case to Leghorn ... but since the Declaration of War with France no Ships have saild from Leghorn as there is no English fleet yet arriv'd in the Mediterranean to Convoy them and I think it will be better to detain them a little longer as it is impossible the Anarchy and Confusion of the French, can long exist, so I have wrote to the Marchant at Leghorn not to Send them off Yet, till we see how matters will go this Summer'. 3

The very last line of the letter reads 'I shall be happy to pay a visit to my Native Country again', which implies that he was at least

considering a visit to Britain.

It was perhaps with this move in mind that More began work on a new venture, his Panorama of Rome. The most detailed description of it is found in the Public Advertiser of 14 December 1793, two months after More's death:

'Jacob More who latly died in Italy, previous to his death painted a view of Rome, upon the same principles of perspective as Barker's Panorama. A room is now preparing at Buckingham-House, in which the picture is to be put up; and those who have seen the manner in which it is executed, speak of the expected effect in the highest terms'. 4

Stoddart described it in 1801 as 'for Prince Augustus a set of views, forming a panorama of the prospect from St. Angelo's Tower',⁵ and Robert Brydall in 1807 referred to 'a large view of Rome as seen from the Capitol, for Prince Augustus of Britain'.⁶ More himself made no mention of the completed oil painting or paintings, but he did refer to a drawing of it in the letter to George Walker already quoted:

'My drawing of Rome is finishd and has given great Satisfaction as it is very Accurate and has never been done before. When put together it makes 20 feet long'. 7

It is therefore most likely that Prince Augustus, whilst in Rome in 1792 or 1793, had commissioned the work from More.

Prince Augustus Frederick, Duke of Sussex (1773-1843) was the sixth son and ninth child of George III.⁸ He had spent much of his early life abroad, and came to Italy in the early 1790s; he stayed in

Naples, as the guest of Sir William Hamilton, and arrived in Rome in the spring of 1792 where he was well received by the English residents.⁹ In April 1793 he made a clandestine marriage in Rome, though this was dissolved in 1794 after his return to Britain.¹⁰ The disapprobation on his return may well have been the reason for the work never being completed; the notice in the Public Advertiser makes it clear that More's death did not cause the project to be dropped. More is recorded having another connection with Augustus - Farington related that he had attempted to sell the Prince a fake Miche langelo.¹¹

Why did More paint a Panorama? Unless he received a specific commission from Prince Augustus, the only reason would be that he was taking up a new line of artistic work in preparation for his return to Britain, and that he had decided to work in a recently invented and highly fashionable commercial venture. The Panorama had been received with great enthusiasm by the British public when it made its first appearance in Edinburgh in 1786, and although few English people saw it until it came to London in 1793, the phenomenon was already well known by reputation.¹² The Panorama was a three hundred and sixty-five degree view of a city or other location, which had originated in the mural decorations of Roman times, revived in the Middle Ages and again in the Renaissance.¹³ In the mid-eighteenth century the idea had become popular once again and landscape artists (often trained, like More, as house painters and theatrical scenepainters) were employed to produce large murals in British country houses. George Barret, for example, collaborated with Cipriani, Gilpin and Paul Sandby on one project, and Thomas Hearne was commissioned around 1775 to execute a panorama of the Lakes and Vale of Keswick for a circular banqueting

room in Sir George Beaumont's London house.¹⁴ These were all landscapes; the phenomenon took on a new development when Barker's larger-scale Panorama of Edinburgh opened in 1786 in premises specifically designed for the purpose.¹⁵ It was immediately popular with the general public, and in 1789 Barker moved to London to set up a permanent exhibition.¹⁶

More was no doubt informed of Barker's success by his Edinburgh correspondents, but he may not have been working in this new method - the reference to the view being 'upon the same principles of perspective as Barker's Panorama' was written by a journalist who admitted not having seen the work himself. More emphasised that 'it has never been done before' and he may therefore have been taking as his models the earlier Italian Vedutisti (Panini, Ricci etc.) or the Sandby-Barret tradition, about which he could have learnt something from Sir George Beaumont. More was not generally interested in the detailed delineation of architectural features, and probably concentrated on the distant landscape view typical of his large Italian oils. The details of buildings he could have found in the large number of aerial views of Rome, half maps and half townscapes, made by Italians such as Vasi.¹⁷ The other possibility - that More had indeed intended to produce a commercial work, as the journalist of the Public Advertiser suggested - is however also possible. After Barker's Panorama of Edinburgh moved to London in 1789, there were no more for a long gap of eight years. Two appeared in 1796, one of which was a Panorama of London painted in Edinburgh by 'Mr. Nasmyth and Mr. Couper'.¹⁸ Both were Edinburgh men: Nasmyth had been in Rome in the mid-1780s, and Cooper was a friend of More and also one of the executors of his will -

More could well have got his ideas from them, and he could even have been planning to come to Britain to work on commercial Panoramas with them. More's sketch of Rome may in fact have been used at a later date, for in 1803 Ramsay Richard Reinagle and Barker's eldest son opened a Panorama building in The Strand, with a Panorama of Rome by Reinagle.¹⁹ In 1847 Reinagle described this view as being taken 'from the Capitol', and he even claimed that he had been the inventor of the Panorama, refuting Barker's originality and claiming only Beaumont's precedent; a booklet sold to visitors to the Panorama, entitled An Explanation of the View of Rome, taken from the Tower of the Capitol (the third edition of 1818) gives no details of the author or artist.²⁰ Reinagle would almost certainly have had some contact with More: his father, Philip Reinagle (1749-1833) took over from David Martin as Allan Ramsay's principal assistant in 1775, becoming, according to Nasmyth, Ramsay's intimate friend.²¹ Richard Ramsay Reinagle (1775-1862) was in Italy in 1796, working for More's chief patron, Lord Bristol.²² His early Roman landscapes are very similar to More's in style,²³ and Farington quotes Sir George Beaumont, discussing a painting of More's sent to England and purchased by Reynolds, as having been glazed and touched up by Reinagle senior.²⁴ As More's drawing of Rome was not included in the sale of his effects in London in 1796 it is possible that Reinagle acquired it in Rome and used the design as his own. Many of More's works are now missing, but this drawing and painting, demonstrating a new artistic venture, constitutes a particular loss, as the style could well indicate the direction in which More's future career lay.

b. More's Death and Burial, 1793

Although More's correspondence indicates that he was in good health in May 1793, he died on 1 October that year. His death was reported in the obituary column of the Gentleman's Magazine in November:

'At Rome, of a bilious fever, Mr. Moore, the ingenious and celebrated landscape-painter. This gentleman, so much esteemed for his professional abilities and private worth, was attended to the grave by all the English at Rome ... The amateurs will lose considerably by his death, as he was engaged to meet the Bishop of Londonderry, and to have taken a view of the picturesque scenery of the lakes. His property devolves to Mr. Moore, of New Street, Covent-garden. His executors are, Sir James Wright and two other English gentlemen'. 1

Brief obituaries also appeared in the European Magazine and London Review,² the Scots Magazine,³ and the Public Advertiser.⁴ More's practical Italian colleague Vincenzo Pacetti noted More's death in his diary on 2 October, 'Mr. More the Scottish landscape painter of the highest merit has died, and has left money'.⁵ The cause of his death is not known: the Gentleman's Magazine obituary, quoted above, stated that More had succumbed to 'a bilious fever', while George Walker, More's friend in Edinburgh, later noted that he had died 'after a lingering illness which he bore with great fortitude'.⁶ Farington even suggested that More had been poisoned by his mistress.⁷

More was buried on the 6 October in the 'Protestant burial-ground', an open field reserved for heretic burials outside the walls of Rome, by the Pyramid of Cestius. Pacetti wrote in his journal, 'to the sorrow of many ... Trippel and More were carried to the graveyard of

Caius Cestius, not being Catholic'.⁸ More's name is listed seventh in the Records of burial.⁹

More's unexpected death left his effects and the contents of a busy studio to be disposed of by his three executors. One, Sir James Wright, was noted in the Gentleman's Magazine already quoted: a more detailed account of the disposal of his effects is given by Farington, in an entry in his diary for 5 November 1793:

'He left Mr. Jenkins, of Rome, Sir James Wright, and Mr. Cooper, the drawing master, of Charles St. St. James's square, his Executors. After providing for some of his relations during their lives He has bequeathed the bulk of his property in reversion to His nephew, Son of his brother, who keeps a Toy shop in New-Street Covent Garden'. 10

A 'More & Son, Jewellers, 20, New-street, Covent garden', were listed in Kent's Directory of 1795.¹¹ The nephew was perhaps a goldsmith, as was the uncle in his original training; a goldsmith called 'Jacob More', the same man or his son, worked at the same address in 1835.¹² No records of any communication between the three executors has been traced, but research into the visit of his nephew who came to Italy the following year has yielded some information.

According to George Beaumont, quoted by Farington, the nephew took charge of clearing up his uncle's effects.¹³ He was in Rome by February 1794, for an extant letter addressed by him from Rome to Sir William Hamilton at Naples has been traced: it indicates that he had been to Naples, but had missed meeting Hamilton. Dated 22 February 1794, it reads

'Sir

[?] to your orders I have sent the Frame with the Six Heads, to M^r. Moira I have likewise taken the liberty of sending for your acceptance, a Print done from a Moon light of the late M^r. Mores Painting for Lord Bristol. -

Previous to my leaving Naples, I troubl'd you with a letter regretting My not having an Opportunity of recommending that fine composition, the Morning Chace of Diana, to the King. It is thought to be one of the best M^r. More Painted' 14

'Mr. Moira' was probably Moir, the nephew of James Byres; the painting was sold in the 1796 Christie sale of More's effects (see p. 309). The following month the nephew was introduced by the British artist Guy Head to Vincenzo Pacetti, who recorded in his journal that More 'ordered me [to make] a memorial to his Deceased Uncle'.¹⁵ Pacetti completed the tomb on the 15 March,¹⁶ and a week later put it in place.¹⁷ Recent writers on More have assumed that it had been lost,¹⁸ but it has been found in the Protestant Cemetery (Plate 89). It is inscribed on one side

DOM/MEMORIA SACRUM/JACOBI MORE/PICTORIS ANGLICANO/ OBIIT
1 OCT^R. MDCCXCIII/ATATIS AN LIII,

and on the other,

SACRED TO THE/MEMORY OF/M^R. JACOB MORE/LADSCAPE PAINTER/
DIED OCTOB 1^t 1793/AGED 53.

Many of these non-Catholic tombs were vandalised - in the early 1800s Von Kotzebue read the names on the few tombstones that 'have escaped the bigot fury of the Romans; for these deluded men make war even against the tomb-stones of the heretics'.¹⁹ When the ground was finally enclosed the stones were restored; the top of More's damaged stone reads 'SACRUM SIT ROMANI/SCOTO RESTAURATUM 1816'. More's friend

Richard Cooper made a sketch of the pyramid of Cestius and More's tomb in 1801, inscribed 'Sepolchro di Caio Cestio and the Tomb of Jacob More/[?] Rome [?] 1801', (pen and brown wash, 25 x 28.5cm).²⁰

More was considered at the time of his death to be a wealthy man: Pacetti noted 'he has left money'.²¹ Farington, writing about a fortnight later, stated 'More, the landscape painter, has accumulated a fortune of £7000'. Two years later, however, Farington noted with some surprise that although More had made huge profits from his commissions, 'He left no more than abt. 14000 Crowns (abt. £3500) and some Pictures', and went on to make the suggestions about More's²² expensive personal life already mentioned

Most of More's effects were brought back from Rome. Several items went to his sister in Edinburgh: Thomas Constable discussed a painting which was 'sent from Rome with Mr. More's other effects, and remained in Mrs. Simpson's possession till 1805, when it was purchased'.²³ The rest of his artistic possessions were sold at Christies in London on 26 and 27 February 1796:

'The reserved Part of a Capital Collection of Italian PICTURES, The Property of the late JACOB MORE, Esq. dec. Many Years distinguished as an EMINENT ARTIST, resident at ROME; and SELECTED from some of the FIRST CABINETS in ITALY'.

Added to More's collection were other items belonging to 'Mons. Liss, of Antwerp', and it is thus not easy to distinguish the origin of many of the items. It was quite a large sale, with ninety-two items on the first day and one hundred and two on the second. Farington went to

the first day's sale and noted in his Diary:

'Christies I went to. The pictures which belonged to More of Rome are on sale. Garvey was there. He told me More valued the Claude (A Seaport) at 1000 guineas; and the Michl. Angelo, [A dying Christ] at as much. A large Landscape by More, with Diana hunting, is in the collection. More had for pictures of this size 150 sequins (125 Guineas)'. 24

The only painting actually by More was 'A Landscape with Diana and nymphs at the chace, one of the finest and one of the latest of the works of this celebrated artist',²⁵ and the annotated Catalogue shows that it was sold to Francis for £110-5. One of the two Claudes, The debarkation of Cleopatra (second day, lot 100) was sold for £262-10, and was therefore considered genuine; another Claude, A landscape, a warm serene summer evening (second day, lot 97), only fetched £51-9-0, and was thus perhaps of doubtful authorship.²⁶ The Mich elangelo, which Farington reported Garvey as having valued at around a thousand guineas, entitled A dead Christ supported by the Deity (second day, lot 69), sold for only £37-16-0, which would suggest that this too was of doubtful authenticity.²⁷ - In addition there were paintings by (or copies after) Andrea Schiavone, Bassano, Tassi, Perugino, Palma Vecchio, Correggio, Caravaggio, Tintoretto ('brought from Venice'), Murillo and a Titian. There was also A Landscape with a waterfall by Richard Wilson (first day, lot 37). In addition to painting, there were three antique rings which had been gifts to More: one, 'a present to Mr. More from the late Pope' (second day, lot 36), the second 'a present from Prince Radzonicus the present Senator of Rome' (second day, lot 37), and the third 'a present from Prince Bourghesi' (second day, lot 38). Many landscape paintings were added from other sources:

the annotations indicate that less than half of the items were probably the property of either More or Liss.²⁸ Most of Liss's pictures were of northern artists, however, not Italian ones.

Several writers on More have stated that at the time of his death he was working on drawings of the Scottish lowlands, engraved after his death by John Landseer.²⁹ They were in fact the work of James Moore, F.S.A. (1762-1799), published in London in 1794 as Twenty-five Views of the Southern Part of Scotland from a collection of drawings made by James Moore Esq. F.A.S. in the year 1792. Engraved by and under the direction of Mr. John Landseer.

c. Rome, 1793-1800: The Close of an Era

More's death coincided with the end of an era of freedom and prosperity for British artists abroad. By 1796 travel within Italy had become more difficult,¹ and Farington wrote that

'Theed, a young artist just returned from Italy told Opie that living at Rome is doubly expensive to what it was formerly; and few English have travelled lately on acct.² of the times so that encouragement has been rare'.

Lord Bristol's patronage was as generous as ever, and the group of artists More had built up continued to work for him: Theed wrote in a letter of 1796 that the only commissions given to the artists that year had come from Lord Bristol 'and those only to such as could incircle him; they were the Pyes, Durnos, Hamiltons, Nevys, Hewetsons, Italians &c, &c',³ and Tatham wrote that 'but for the travelling Earl of Bristol

I myself am second in the rank of making acquisitions'.⁴ By 1797 'it was to the honour of Ireland, that it sent more students of the fine arts to Italy, than either Scotland or England'.⁵ More was prudent indeed in planning to leave in 1793.

Though More had held a central position in the British colony in Rome, there was no lack of competition to take his place as either artist or agent. Only a fortnight after his death, ^{the} ^{Thomas} Reverend Brand wrote to the Earl of Ailesbury of the young painter Wallis (George Augustus Wallis, 1770-1847), 'I think he bids fair to be the best of the English branch since the death of poor Moore'.⁶ More's place as agent to Lord Bristol was taken over by Pye and Fagan. Skirving wrote from Rome in March 1794 'Since the death of More Pye is become Lord Bristol's factor'.⁷ Pye had worked for Bristol through More in the 1780s (see pp. 294-5); Robert Fagan had carried out extremely successful excavations at Laurentum in partnership with Prince Augustus,⁸ and had painted Bristol's portrait in Rome in 1793.⁹ Fagan was not universally liked or trusted.¹⁰ Nollekens (who referred to him as 'that palavering fellow')¹¹ was let down by him on an order, and one of his shipments of Bristol's goods in 1803 was ruined due to salt water penetrating the wrappings;¹² he also took over much of Gavin Hamilton's and Jenkins's work.¹³

d. Conclusion

The material presented in this thesis demonstrates that More was a figure of considerably greater importance, both in his achievement as a painter and in his standing among contemporary artists, than has been assumed previously. He held a central place in the artistic life of Edinburgh in the late 1760s, and produced the first major landscapes of the Scottish scene; his later, Italian landscapes, though less original in subject-matter, are highly interesting and often successful experiments in specialised colour techniques and the rendering of aerial perspective. Though ~~More was~~ neglected in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, his unanimous election to the Accademia di San Luca and the acceptance of his Self-Portrait by the Uffizi demonstrate clearly the impact he made on his own generation. More's least known achievement - the creation of the Giardino Inglese in the Villa Borghese - represents a small but significant step in the spread of British culture abroad. His activities as an agent and dealer were more typical of many artists in Rome, though his work for Lord Bristol is remarkable in its thoroughness and tenacity.

As a character Jacob More remains one of the most elusive personalities of the eighteenth century; as an artist he can now be recognised as a figure of considerable interest and standing.

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

b. Jacob More and his Critics, 1770-1980

1. British Library (hereafter BL), Cumberland Papers III, Add MSS 36493, f.128, Irvine to Cumberland, Rome, 10 February 1781. (Quoted in William T. Whitley, Artists and Their Friends in England, 1700-1799), 2 vols (London, 1928), II, 200).
2. Antonio Canova, I Quaderni di Viaggio, 1779-80, conservati nel Museo Civico di Bassano del Grappa, edited with notes by Elena Bassi; Fondazione Giorgio Cini. Civita Veneziana: fonti e testi (Rome, 1960), p.138, 12 June 1780, "tutto due divini...anco questi di sorprendente bellezza".
3. Henry, Elizabeth and George (1734-80): Letters and Diaries of Henry, tenth Earl of Pembroke and his Circle (hereafter Pembroke Papers), edited by Lord Herbert (London, 1939), p.263, 23 September 1779.
4. Historical Monuments Commission: The Manuscripts of the Duke of Rutland, 1894, III (hereafter Rutland Papers), p.237, Byres to the Bishop of Killala, Rome, 24 August 1785.

More's abilities were also praised the same year by William Blackett (before 29 March), in letters sent from Italy (Northumberland Record Office. Information kindly supplied by Mr. Brinsley Ford).
5. Biblioteca Alessandrina, Rome, MS 321, Giornale di Vincenzo Pacetti riguardante Li principale affari, e negozi del suo Studio di Scultura, ed altri Suoi interessi particolari, incominciato dall'anno 1773 fino all'anno 1803 (Journal of Vincenzo Pacetti regarding the principal business and sales of his sculpture studio, and his other main concerns, from the year 1773 to the year 1803, hereafter BA Rome, Pacetti, MS 321); 1 January 1787, 'dei belli quadri'.
6. J.W.Goethe, Italian Journey (1786-1788), translated from the German, Italienische Reise, by W.H.Auden and Elizabeth Mayer (London, 1962), pp.356-7, 9 July 1787 (Deluge, p.357).
7. Winckelmann und sein Jahrhundert: in Briefen und Aufsätzen, first published 1805⁴ (Leipzig, 1969), pp.183-4, 204.
edited by H.Holtzhauer
8. Count Freidrich Leopold zu Stolberg, Travels through Germany, Switzerland, Italy, and Sicily, translated from the German by Thomas Holcroft, 2 vols (London, 1796-7), I, 387, 14 January 1792.

9. Lord Gardenstone, Travelling Memorandums, made in a tour upon the Continent of Europe in the Years 1786, 1787, and 1788..., second edition, 3 vols (1792-5), III, 156.
Edinburgh
10. National Library of Scotland (hereafter NLS), Continental Tour: Journal kept by Sir William Forbes, 6th. Bart., of Pitsligo, of a tour taken on the Continent with his wife and daughter, 1792-3, 7 vols, MSS 1539-45; II, MS 1540, f.358, 29 November 1792.
11. These reviews are transcribed in full in Appendix C.
12. Morning Post, 4 May 1786. Fuller quote p.159.
13. The Bee; or, Literary Weekly Intelligencer, 24 April 1793.
14. 'Account of Gavin Hamilton', Scots Magazine, 1793, Appendix, 636-9 (p.638).
15. James Cririe, Scottish Scenery; or, Sketches in Verse, descriptive of scenes chiefly in the highlands of Scotland: accompanied with notes and illustrations; and ornamented with engravings by W.Byrne, F.S.A. from views painted by G.Walker, F.S.A.E. (London, 1803), p.240, note 7.
16. [John Beugo], Poetry, Miscellaneous and Dramatic. By an Artist (London, 1797), p.17.
17. Beugo, p.17.
18. John Stoddart, Remarks on Local Scenery and Manners in Scotland, during the years 1799 and 1800, 2 vols (London, 1801), I, 160.
19. George Walker, A Descriptive Catalogue of a Choice Assembly of Original Pictures by...Masters of the Italian, French, Flemish, Dutch, and British Schools...In three parts. Part First (Edinburgh, 1807), pp.30-8.
20. Walker, p.34.
21. Walker, p.37.
22. Allan Ramsay, The Gentle Shepherd; a pastoral comedy; with illustrations of the scenery..., 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1808, the 'Newhall' edition), II, 450.
23. Ramsay, The Gentle Shepherd, II, 451.
24. Alexander Campbell, A Journey from Edinburgh through Parts of North Britain, 2 vols (London, 1802), II, 276.

25. Edward Edwards, Anecdotes of Painters who have resided or been born in England..., first published 1808, facsimile reprint, with an introduction by R.W.Lightbown (London, 1970), p.213.
26. Rev. M. Pilkington, A Dictionary of Painters from the revival of that art to the present period...A new edition... edited by Henry Fuseli, R.A. (London, 1810), n.p.
27. 'John Constable's Discourses', compiled and annotated by R.B.Beckett, Suffolk Record Society, 14 (1970), pp.57 & 58, quoting a lecture given at the Royal Institution.
28. W.B.Sarsfield Taylor, The Origin, Progress, and Present Condition of the Fine Arts in Great Britain and Ireland, 2 vols (London, 1841), II, 330.
29. Catalogue of the Collection of Pictures, antient and modern, of Kinfauns Castle, chiefly collected by Francis Lord Grey (Perth, 1828), Cat.11.
30. John Burnet, The Progress of a Painter in the Nineteenth Century: containing conversations and remarks upon art, 2 vols, (London, 1854), I, 210.
31. Matthew Pilkington, A General Dictionary of Painters...With an Introduction, historical and critical, by Allan Cunningham (London, 1857), p.363.
32. Frederick Peter Segulier, A Critical Dictionary of the Works of Painters (London, 1870), p.131.
33. Samuel Redgrave, A Dictionary of Artists of the English School...with notices of their lives and works, second edition, 1878, facsimile reprint (Bath, 1970), p.296.
34. Sir Walter Armstrong, Scottish Painters. A Critical Study (London, 1888).
35. Robert Brydall, Art in Scotland: Its Origin and Progress (Edinburgh, 1889), pp.159-61.
36. William D. McKay, The Scottish School of Painting (London, 1906), pp.24-5.
37. Sir James L. Caw, Scottish Painting, Past and Present, 1620-1908 (Edinburgh, 1908), p.39.
38. Caw, p.39.

39. Christopher Hussey, The Picturesque: Studies in a Point of View (London, 1927), p.259.
40. Whitley, II, 200.
41. John Tonge, The Arts of Scotland (London, 1938), p.39.
42. Colonel Maurice Harold Grant, A Chronological History of the Old English Landscape Painters (in oil) from the XVIth Century to the XIXth Century, second edition, 8 vols (Leigh-on-Sea, 1957-61), III (1958), 215.
43. Ian Finlay, Art in Scotland (Oxford, 1948), p.80.
44. Stanley Cursiter, Scottish Art to the Close of the Nineteenth Century (London, 1949), pp.48 & 49.
45. James R. Brochie, '18th Century Scottish Romantic Painters', Scottish Art Review, III, no.1 (1950), 7-12 (p.11).
46. Alistair Smart, The Life and Art of Allan Ramsay (London, 1952), p. 174.
47. Iolo A Williams, Early English Watercolours, and some cognate drawings by artists born not later than 1785 (London, 1952), pp.77-8.
48. Adrian Bury, 'In the Galleries', Connoisseur, 151 (September 1962), 49-50 (p.49).
49. Luke Herrmann, British Landscape Painting of the Eighteenth Century (London, 1973), p.70.
50. David Irwin, 'Jacob More, Neo-Classical Landscape Painter', Burlington Magazine, 114 (1972), 774-9.
51. David and Francina Irwin, Scottish Painters at Home and Abroad 1700-1900 (London, 1975), pp.133-8.
52. John Prebble, The Lion in the North: A Personal View of Scotland's History (London, 1971), p.304.
53. National Gallery of Scotland (hereafter NGS), The Discovery of Scotland: The Appreciation of Scottish Scenery through Two Centuries of Painting, exhibition catalogue by James Holloway and Lindsay Errington (Edinburgh, 1978).

CHAPTER TWO: MORE'S LIFE AND WORK IN SCOTLAND UNTIL c.1771

a. Beginnings

1. Anonymous engraving of More's Self-Portrait of 1783, 22.7 x 17.1cm, Scottish National Portrait Gallery (hereafter SNPG), SP-IV-105-1.
2. 'Register of Edinburgh Apprentices 1756-1800', edited by the late Marguerite Wood, Scottish Record Society, 89 (Edinburgh, 1963), p.47, 27 June 1764.
3. This error was noted in Irwin, 'Jacob More', p.776. The mistake was made by various writers, including -
Joseph Irving, The Book of Scotsmen (Paisley, 1881), p.364
Brydall, p.160
Caw, p.38
M.H.Grant, V (1959), 213-4
The essays were in fact by James Moor, LL.D.(1712-1779), the scholar and mathematician, published in Glasgow by his brothers-in-law Robert and Andrew Foulis in 1759 as Essays: read to a Literary Society; at their weekly meetings, within the college, at Glasgow.
4. Edinburgh University Library (hereafter EUL), Laing's notes on Artists, La IV 25, handwritten note by George Walker (inscribed by Laing 'the handwriting of the late George Walker...a friend and correspondent of J.More'), 'Jacob More was in 1757 bound an Apprentice to a Goldsmith in Ed.'.

The records of goldsmith's apprenticeships are kept in the Scottish Record Office, Register House, Edinburgh (hereafter SRO), Incorporation of Goldsmiths, Apprentice Book 1694-1786, MS GD 1482/13: More's name is not recorded, as entries lapsed in the 1750s. The entry for 16 September 1758 records that the Clerk informed the Corporation that the records were 'extremely incompleat, and that none of the Indentures bearing date subsequent to the twenty third of June [?] and fifty one were recorded'. The masters were therefore instructed to lodge indentures begun since that date with the Clerk, but few did so.
5. 'Register of Edinburgh Apprentices', p.47.
6. 'Register of Edinburgh Apprentices', introduction, states that goldsmiths' apprenticeships were generally seven years long.
D.& F.Irwin, p.149, note the high social standing of goldsmiths in Edinburgh at this time (Henry Raeburn was apprenticed to a goldsmith in 1772, and Alexander Nasmyth became an apprentice at the age of twenty-four).
7. The Anecdotes and Egotisms of Henry Mackenzie 1745-1831 now first published, edited, with an introduction, by Harold William Thompson (London, 1927), p.214.

8. 'Biographical Account of Sir James Montgomery, Bart., Late Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer', Scots Magazine (1803), 591-6 (591 & 592).
 9. Henry Cockburn, Memorials of His Time (Edinburgh, 1909), p.183.
 10. EUL, Laing's Notes on Artists, La IV 25, note by George Walker, 'put as an apprentice to Messrs. Norie & Runciman'.
 11. For a fuller discussion of this connection, see James Holloway, 'Robert Norie in London and Perthshire', Connoisseur, 197 (1978), 58-60.
 12. Oil on canvas, 64.8 x 132cm, NGS 1768; repro. NGS, The Discovery of Scotland, cat. 3.1, colour Plate III.
 13. Landscape with a View of Ben Lawers, oil on canvas, 175 x 107cm, and Landscape with a Waterfall and Castellated Ruins (same medium and size), s.& d.1741; repro. James Holloway, 'Robert Norie', and NGS, The Discovery of Scotland, cat. 3.2, fig.23, and cat. 3.3, fig.24.
 14. See J. Duncan Macmillan, 'The Earlier Career of Alexander Runciman and the Influences that shaped his Style' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1973).
 15. Edinburgh Evening Courant, 9 February 1767. *
 16. J.D.Macmillan, 'Alexander Runciman', p.78, incorrectly gives the artist's name as Maclaurie in quoting the Courant announcement.
 17. EUL, Laing's Notes on Artists, La IV 25, Laing states that Bonnar had been apprenticed to Norie in 1743.
 18. SNPG, Bonnar file, quoting the Edinburgh Marriage Register of 1766, 'Painter in the Canongate'.
Williamson's Directory for the City of Edinburgh, Canongate, Leith and Suburbs, from the 25th May 1773, to the 25th May 1774, being the first published, facsimile reprint, with a prefatory note by William Brown (Edinburgh, 1889), p.11, 'Bonnar, John, painter, head of Niddery's Wynd'; in the Appendix, p.11, 'John Bonnar, wrights, head of Niddery's Wynd', and 'Extraordinary Council Deacon'.
 19. EUL, Laing's Notes on Artists, La IV 25, George Walker note.
 20. SRO, Manufactures in Scotland, Trustees' Minute Book 25, MS NG 1/1/25, f.109, 23 January 1786. (This reference is cited incorrectly by D.& F.Irwin, note 27 to p.134, as ND 1/1/25).
- * (His Italian experience is described by J.Duncan Macmillan, 'Alexander Runciman in Rome', Burlington, 112 (1970), 23-30).

21. See D.& F.Irwin, p.128.
22. Delacour's influence on More's drawing style is discussed p.28; his possible influence on More's work as a scenepainter is discussed p.36.
23. Joseph Farington, Diary: the Diary, held in the Royal Collection, Windsor, exists for present research purposes in three forms:
 - 1) a microfilm from a typed transcript made by the British Museum
 - 2) The Farington Diary, edited by J.Greig, 8 vols (London, 1922-8), which includes material not in the BM typescript
 - 3) The Diary of Joseph Farington, edited by Kenneth Garlick and Angus MacIntyre (Newhaven & London, 1978-), six vol. available at the completion of this study (to December 1804 of the Diary).

This note: Farington, Diary, ed. Greig, VI (1926), 144, 20 September 1810.

b. More's Early Drawings

1. Beugo, p.17.
2. A sketchbook was recorded in the correspondence of the Edinburgh antiquarian George Paton - NLS, George Paton correspondence, Advocates MSS 29.5.7.(iii), f.57, Paton to Richard Gough, Edinburgh, 30 September 1779.

3. Exh: NGS, The Discovery of Scotland, cat. 1.13.

4. See pp.23-4.

Delacour's career is discussed by John Fleming, 'Enigma of a Rococo Artist', Country Life, 131 (1962), 1224-6; by J.D.Macmillan, pp.25-38, and by D.& F. Irwin, p.91.

5. 'Memoirs of Thomas Jones', Walpole Society, 32 (1946-8), (hereafter Thomas Jones), p.79, 1 October 1778. Quoted in full p.144.

6. NLS, George Paton Correspondence, Advocates MSS 29.5.7.(i), f.39, Paton to Richard Gough, Edinburgh, 26 March 1772.

7. See J.D.Macmillan, pp.43-4.

8. NLS, George Paton Correspondence, Advocates MSS 29.5.7.(iii), f.16, Paton to Richard Gough, Edinburgh, 1 May 1779.

c. The Cape Club: More's place in the artistic and cultural life of Edinburgh

1. For a general discussion of Edinburgh clubs of this period, see Davis Dunbar McElroy, 'The Literary Clubs and Societies of Eighteenth Century Scotland and their Influence on the Literary Productions of the period from 1700 to 1800' (Ph.D. thesis, Edinburgh, 1952; concise version pub. Washington, 1969).
2. NLS, Sederunt Book of the Knights Companion of the Cape (1764-1787, hereafter Cape), MS 2004, f.3.
3. NLS, Cape, f.30-1, 26 January 1769.
4. NLS, Cape, f.38, 6 September 1769.
5. NLS, Cape, f.39, 22 September 1769.
6. NLS, Cape, f.13 (joined, n.d.), & f.24, 28 June 1768 (secretary).
7. NLS, Cape, f.24, 28 June 1768.
8. NLS, Cape, f.24, 28 June 1768.
9. NLS, Cape, f.14 (More, f.13).
10. Sir Daniel Wilson, Memorials of Edinburgh In the Olden Time, second edition, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1891), II, 23 - Herd is not recorded in the Sederunt Book.
11. [David Herd], The Ancient and Modern Scots Songs, Heroic Ballads, &c. Now first collected... [containing a] number of original songs, from manuscripts, never before published (Edinburgh, 1769).
12. See Robert Fergusson's poem, 'on James Cumming', transcribed by Herd, EUL, Ia II 334/7.
13. See p.77.
14. This was his second magazine: NLS, George Paton Correspondence, MSS 29.5.7.(iii), f.69, Paton to Richard Gough, Edinburgh, 25 October 1779, Paton notes that 'Walter Ruddiman & Co.' began the Edinburgh Magazine, which ran until 1762, in July 1757; he then opened his own printing office '& in 1768 he begun his weekly Magazine'.

d. More's Work for the Edinburgh Theatre

1. D.& F. Irwin, p.128.
2. A Terrace: design for a Stage Set, watercolour over ink, 48.5 x 67.5cm, signed 'A.Runciman', NGS D354 (from Laing Bequest).
3. Memoirs of Charles Lee lewes, containing Anecdotes, Historical and Biographical, of the English and Scottish Stages, during a period of forty years. Written by himself, 4 vols (London, 1805), III, 1.
4. The Oxford Companion to the Theatre, third edition, edited by Phyllis Hartnoll (London, 1967), p.269.
5. Norma Armstrong, 'The Edinburgh Stage 1715-1820: A Bibliography', (unpublished thesis for the Library Association, Edinburgh, 1968), p.42.
6. G.Parker, A View of Society and Manners in^{the} High and Low Life... in which is comprised a History of the Stage Itinerant, 2 vols (London, 1781), I, 62.
7. William Creech, Letters addressed to Sir John Sinclair, Bart., respecting the mode of living, arts, commerce, &c. of Edinburgh in 1763, and since that period (Edinburgh, 1793), p.33.
8. For a full account of his career, see Henry Mackenzie, An Account of the Life and Writings of John Home, Esq. (Edinburgh, 1822), and Alice E. Gipson, John Home: A Study of his Life and Works, with special reference to his tragedy of Douglas and the controversies which followed its first representation (Caldwell, Idaho, 1917).
The scenery was provided by William Delacour, who was named in the advertisement for the play(noted p.43).
9. [Allan Ramsay], A Letter from a Gentleman in Edinburgh to his Friend in the Country: Occasioned by the late Theatrical Disturbances (Edinburgh, 1766), p.3.
10. [Allan Ramsay], A Letter from the City of Edinburgh to the Town of Glasgow (Edinburgh, 1767), p.8.
11. Parker, I, 63.
12. The Oxford Companion to the Theatre, p.390.
13. e.g. the pamphlet [by John Bonar], Considerations on the Proposed Application to his Majesty and to Parliament, for the Establishment of a Licensed Theatre in Edinburgh (Edinburgh, 1767).

14. An Act for Extending the Royalty of the City of Edinburgh, over certain adjoining lands;...and to enable His Majesty to grant Letters Patent for establishing a theatre in the City of Edinburgh, or suburbs thereof (Edinburgh, 1768).
15. [John] Roach's New and Complete History of the Stage (London, 1796), p.80.
16. EUL, Laing's Notes on Artists, La IV 25, note by George Walker.
17. Richard Rolt, The Royal Shepherd: An English Opera. Altered from the 'Re Pastore' of Metastasio by R. Rolt. In three acts and in verse (Edinburgh, 1769).
18. Tenducci, b. 1736, had already enjoyed success on the London stage. He first visited Edinburgh in 1761, though he continued to work in London, with a spell in Dublin, until coming to Edinburgh in 1768 as the principal singer of the Edinburgh Musical Society.
19. N.Armstrong, Index, 26 & 30 January, 8 & 21 March 1769.
20. Charles Burney, Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Abbate Metastasio, in which are incorporated translations of his principal letters, 3 vols (London, 1796), I, 401.
21. Henry Mackenzie, quoted by R.D.S.Jack, The Italian Influence on Scottish Literature (Edinburgh, 1972), p.152.
22. Artaxerxes. An English Opera...by Tho. Aug. Arne. With the addition of three favourite Scots Airs, the words by Mr R.Fergusson (Edinburgh, 1769).
23. Caledonian Mercury, 18 March 1769, 'addition of two favourite Scots airs...'. These were perhaps a last-minute addition to the first production.
24. Performed 23 July 1769 (advertised in the Caledonian Mercury, 19 July 1769).
25. 'The Poems of Robert Fergusson', edited by Matthew P.McDiarmid, Scottish Text Society, 21 & 24 (Edinburgh, 1954 & 1956), I,22.
26. George Gleig, Supplement to the Third Edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica (Edinburgh, 1801), p.647.
27. The Unpublished Poems of Robert Fergusson, collected and edited by William E.Gillies (Edinburgh, 1955), p.12.

28. 'The Canongate Playhouse in Ruins. A Burlesque Poem', in The Poems of Robert Fergusson, II, 59-62 (61).
29. Edinburgh Evening Courant, 23 July 1757. The play Douglas was 'decorated with an entire new WOOD SCENE by De la Cour'. The controversy caused by the production of the play is noted pp.37-8.
30. Exh: Royal Academy (hereafter RA), British Art, 1934 (1131).
31. Exh: NGS, The Discovery of Scotland, cat.3.6, repro.fig.27.
32. Allan Ramsay, The Gentle Shepherd, II 447, ' sketch, bought from his sister' (the other subjects by More in the collection are not similar to those in Wall of a Room).
33. Exh: RA, Scottish Art, 1939 (757)
Victoria & Albert Museum(hereafter V&A), Englishmen in Italy, 1968 (146)
NGS, The Discovery of Scotland, cat.3.5.
It was favourably reviewed as a work by More by Brochie in 1950.
34. e.g. Flora (oil on canvas, size unknown, s.& d.1758), coll. the Duke of Hamilton (photograph in SNPG file).
35. Exh: NGS, The Discovery of Scotland, cat.6.17, repro.fig.63.
36. Allan Ramsay, The Gentle Shepherd, II, 444.
37. Iolo Williams, p.77 (the sheet was inscribed with More's name).

CHAPTER THREE: NATIONAL RECOGNITION: THE SCOTTISH OIL PAINTINGS

a. The Falls of Clyde

1. Walker, p.30.

Previous material published with reference to Jacob More and the Falls of Clyde discussed in this section:

D. Irwin, 'Jacob More' (1972)

D. & F. Irwin (1975)

David Irwin, 'The Falls of Clyde', Country Life, 161 (1977), 1166-8.

NGS, The Discovery of Scotland (1978)

Patricia R. Andrew, 'Corehouse Reserve and the Falls of Clyde', Scottish Wildlife, 15, no.3 (1979), 18-20

The material on the Falls of Clyde paintings put forward in this thesis differs in both factual account and critical opinion from earlier publications, in addition to providing a full survey of the topic.

The existence of two sets of the paintings has not hitherto been noted, earlier writers having accepted the three best-known canvasses as one full set.

2. More's exhibited paintings are listed in Appendix A; his sisters are listed notes 41 & 42 to p.223.

Although only two Falls are recorded by name, a painting of Stonebyres was exhibited: Richard Gough, British Topography; or, An Historical Account of what has been done for illustrating the topographical antiquities of Great Britain and Ireland, 2 vols (London, 1780), II, 703, 'Mr. Jacob More painted for Commissioner Wharton a fine view of this cataract, exhibited a few years ago in Pall-Mall' (in his discussion of Stonebyres Linn).

3. Boswell's Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson, Ll.d. 1773, edited by Frederick A. Pottle & Charles H. Bennett (Yale, 1963), p.81.

4. Boswell's Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides, p.4.

5. [Daniel Defoe], A Tour thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain, divided into circuits or journies. By a Gentleman, 4 vols (London, 1724-7).

6. James Thomson, 1700-1748: Letters and Documents, edited by A.D. McKillop (Kansas, 1958), p.15, quoting the Scots Magazine of April 1797 (222-5), which quoted from a letter from Thomson to Cranstoun, copied from Kelso Mail no.I (the last reference has not been traced).

7. The Complete Poetical Works of James Thomson, edited, with notes, by J.Logie Robertson (London, 1908), p.75 (the earlier version p.123).
8. e.g. Bonnington Linn, Lanarkshire, pen & watercolour, 25.7 x 37.6cm, NGS D146. Exh: NGS, The Discovery of Scotland, cat.5.1, repro.fig.49.
Corylin, The Falls of Clyde, gouache, signed, 32 x 44.5cm, sold Sotheby, 10 October 1974 (photograph Witt Library).
9. Paul Sandby, The Virtuosi's Museum; containing select views, in England, Scotland, and Ireland (London, 1778) - Plates 2 & 17 (Corra Linn), Plate 4 (Bonnington Linn), Plate 19 (Stonebyres Linn). Several Plates are later than the title page of 1778.
Sandby's Scottish period is discussed in NGS, The Discovery of Scotland, section IV, 'Paul Sandby and Scotland'.
10. NGS, The Discovery of Scotland, p.40.
11. Gentleman's Magazine, April 1758, p.179 (reference found in Gough, II, 702).
12. Gentleman's Magazine, April, 1758, p.180.
13. Richard Pococke, 'Tours in Scotland 1747, 1750, 1760...from the original MS. and drawings in the British Museum', edited ...by Daniel William Kemp, Scottish History Society, 1 (Edinburgh, 1887), p.46.
14. Thomas Pennant, A Tour in Scotland, and Voyage to the Hebrides; MDCCLXXII (Chester, 1774), pp.119-20.
15. John Wilson, Clyde, a Descriptive Poem (Glasgow, 1764); modelled on Thomson's Seasons, but with more dramatic and historical references.
D.Irwin, 'The Falls of Clyde', p.1168, incorrectly dates the poem to 1803; in Scottish Painters, p.134, he gives the year as 1808, the date of a later publication.
16. Tobias Smollett, The Expedition of Humphrey Clinker, with an introduction by Howard Munford Jones and notes by Charles Lee, first published 1771 (London, 1943), p.250.
17. Photograph from NGS files, given by Dowells.

18. The painting has slightly more bluish tones than the colour photograph, Plate 16.

Provenance and list from NGS, checked for present study:

Exh: Dundee, British Association Exh., 1867 (247)

Edinburgh, Scottish National Exh., 1908 (7)

RA, Scottish Art, 1939 (32)

Belfast, Scottish Masters from the NGS, 1957-8 (14)

Glasgow, Scottish Painting, 1961 (39)

Ottawa, Three Centuries of Scottish Painting, 1968 (12)

Glasgow, Scenic Aspects of the River Clyde, 1972 (51)

NGS, The Discovery of Scotland, 1978 (cat.5.3 & col. Plate V).

19. NGS, The Discovery of Scotland, cat.5.5, repro.fig.50.
20. Details of attributions from J.W.Goodison, Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge: Catalogue of Paintings, III, British School(Cambridge, 1977), and from NGS file.
NGS, The Discovery of Scotland, cat.5.4, repro.fig.52.
21. Stoddart, I, 160. The painting he refers to was 'in the possession of Commissioner Wharton, at Edinburgh'. It was probably the first version, as George Walker owned the second, noting that it had formerly belonged to Sir Joshua Reynolds (Walker, p.37).
22. Stoddart, I, 150.
23. Walker, p.31, cat.12, 'The Great Fall of Clyde, called Cora-Linn'.
24. Walker, p.34.
25. Walker, pp.32-3.
26. Walker, p.33.
27. Walker, p.34.(also mentioned pp.12-13 in thesis).
28. On the reverse of a possible stageset; see pp.47-8.
29. See Plates 25, 31, and 54.
30. Gough, II, 703 (Falls of Clyde, quoted in thesis p.72), and II, 694 (Dunbar Castle, discussed p.77 of thesis).
31. Stoddart, I, 160.
32. Walker, pp.33-4.
33. Sandby, Bonnington Linn - see footnote 8 of this section; later works include Alexander Nasmyth's Bonnington Linn, gouache on grey paper, 38.8 x 58cm, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, exh: NGS, The Discovery of Scotland, cat.5.7, repro.fig.57.

34. Stoddart, I, 160.
 35. See pp.75-6.
 36. See p.22.
 37. Tempera on paper, 64.7 x 76.2cm, coll. E.Croft-Murray (photograph in Witt Library).
 38. James Norie senior, Landscape: Woody River Scene with bathers and other figures, signed 'James Norie, Edinburgh' & dated 1736, 65.8 x 135.7cm, Aberdeen Art Gallery (photograph in Witt Library).
 39. D.& F.Irwin, p.129, quoting MSS in Blair Castle Charter Room.
 40. In Dental School library; noted by J.D.Macmillan, pp.34-5.
 41. Allan Ramsay, The Gentle Shepherd, II, 450.
 42. See David Irwin, 'Charles Steuart, Landscape-painter', Apollo, 106 (1977), 300-3, for an account of the artist's career, including some of his Scottish work; also D.& F.Irwin, pp.128-30.
- Steuart exhibited prolifically at the Society of Artists from 1764 to 1790, and many of his works shown were of waterfall subjects: see Algernon Graves, The Society of Artists of Great Britain 1760-1791: The Free Society of Artists 1761-1783: A Complete Dictionary of Contributors and their Work...to 1791 (London, 1907), (hereafter Graves, SA).
43. The paintings at Blair Castle were viewed privately by kind permission of the Duke of Atholl.
- Dining room: oil on canvas not measured. Another undated version in the Tea Room shows a wilder and more rugged scene (repro. D.& F.Irwin, Plate 55).
44. George Barret, Landscape with River and Figures, oil on canvas, 235.8 x 306.8cm, coll. the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensferry, Bowhill. Viewed: photograph in NGS.
- For details of Barret's career, see Anne Crookshank and The Knight of Glin, The Painters of Ireland c.1600-1920 (London, 1978), pp.112-24.
45. Oil on canvas, 14.85 x 19.3cm, Tate Gallery, T6196. Exhibited at the Society of Artists, 1762 (135).
 46. Others include Roslin Castle (see p.75), and The Good Samaritan (see p.97).

47. More comes closest to Wilson in style in his early Italian landscapes, discussed pp.93-4, 97-8.
48. Gouache, 30.5 x 24.1cm, cat.45-133. The sketch is far less pink in tone than the colour reproduction in Luke Herrmann, Colour Plate IV, would suggest, and much nearer to More's blue-green colouring.
49. e.g. Landscape with a castle and a torrent, wash over ink, 24.7 x 30cm, NGS D448, and Three Waterfalls, wash over ink, 29.1 x 35.1cm, NGS D451.
This aspect of Adam's work is discussed by A.A.Tait, 'The Picturesque Drawings of Robert Adam', Master Drawings, 9, (1971), 161-171.
50. Oil on canvas, 1746, coll.the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensferry, Bowhill.
Mentioned as a model for More's paintings in D.Irwin, p.777; D.& F.Irwin, p.136; and NGS, The Discovery of Scotland, p.48, repro.fig.54.
51. Duguet e.g. Storm: Moses and the Angel, oil on canvas, 201 x 153cm, National Gallery, London (hereafter NG Lon), 1159.
52. D.& F.Irwin, p.134.
53. Rosa e.g. Lo Spavento ('Terror'), oil on canvas, 50 x 20cm, Pitti Palace, Florence (Uffizi no.1101); Waterfall, oil, 115 x 147cm, Toledo Mus. of Art, Ohio; Waterfall with Castle, oil, 98 x 86.5cm. Fogg Art Museum, Harvard.
54. More may possibly have seen works by Ruisdael in the collection of his Edinburgh patron Robert Alexander (listed Appendix A).
55. Ramsay is discussed pp.85-6, 98-101.
56. D. Irwin, 'Jacob More', pp.776-7, and D.& F.Irwin, pp.134-6.
57. Information from James Holloway and Lindsay Errington, who first researched the two provenances.
58. The National Gallery staff had not published their identifications at this stage.
59. NGS, The Discovery of Scotland, pp.47-55.
60. All references to right and left refer to the view looking upstream.
61. See footnote 8 of this section.

62. See footnote 33 of this section.
63. Nicolson, Bonnington Linn, watercolour, 52.5 x 66.3cm, Laing Art Gallery, Newcastle-upon-Tyne. Exh: NGS, The Discovery of Scotland, cat.5.9, repro.fig.55.
64. Journals of Dorothy Wordsworth, edited by E. de Selincourt, 2 vols (London, 1941), I, 219-228 (1803), and II, 381-5 (1822); new developments at Bonnington noted II, 384-5.
65. D. Irwin, 'The Falls of Clyde', Plate 2, and note to Plate.
66. D. Irwin, 'The Falls of Clyde', Plate 4 and note to Plate.
67. e.g. Thomas Newte, Prospects and Observations; on a Tour in England and Scotland: natural, oeconomical, and literary, first published 1788 (London, 1791); includes an engraving by Nasmyth and Cary entitled Corra-Lynn which is in fact a representation of Bonnington Linn.
68. Walker, p.30.
Cririe, Plate 19, Bonnington, inscribed 'Painted in crayons by G. Walker F.S.A.E. / Engraved by W. Byrne F.S.A.'.
69. William Gilpin, Observations, relative chiefly to Picturesque Beauty, made in the year 1776, on several Parts of Great Britain; particularly the High-Lands of Scotland, 2 vols (London, 1789), II, 71.
70. Gilpin, II, 141.
71. Gough, II, 703; also noted in thesis pp.60-1.
72. NLS, George Paton Correspondence, Advocates MSS 29.5.5-8, includes various letters from Paton to Gough discussing antiquarian matters.
73. Stoddart, I, 160.
74. Joseph Farington, MSS Tours in Scotland, 1788 and 1792, Royal coll., Windsor, typescript in Edinburgh Public Library (hereafter EPL), second Tour, f.12, 24 July 1792.
75. Farington, EPL, typescript of second Tour in Scotland, f.13, 25 July 1792.
76. EUL, General MSS 1429/22, E71/33, Letter Walker to the Earl of Buchan, Edinburgh, 22 December 1804.
(Runciman himself painted a large composition on the theme of Scotland's rivers on a ceiling at Penicuik House - see J.D.Macmillan, Art History, I (1978), 90-98).

77. EUL, La II 648/280, Letter Walker to Messrs. Cadell & Davies, Edinburgh, 13 June 1804.
78. John White Abbott, e.g. Corra Linn, one of the Falls of Clyde, watercolour, 19 x 24cm, inscribed on reverse of mount 'JWA July 5 1791', V&A 162.a/E324-1924, and Stone Byres Linn on the Clyde, same medium, size and inscription, V&A 162.a/E325-1924.
79. Newte, pp.56-7, quoted in NGS, The Discovery of Scotland, p.47.
80. See J.C.B.Cooksey, 'Alexander Nasmyth 1758-1840: His Life and Work' (forthcoming Ph.D. thesis, University of St. Andrews, 1981), and NGS, The Discovery of Scotland, note to cat.5.7.
81. H.W.Williams, The Falls of Clyde: Bonnington, watercolour, 43.9 x 61.6cm, s. & d. 'HWW 1799', NGS D3979.
82. Sir John Carr, Caledonian Sketches, or a Tour through Scotland in 1807... (London, 1809), p.125.
83. Journals of Dorothy Wordsworth, II, 383-5.
84. Composed at Corra Linn, in sight of Wallace's Tower, first published 1820.
85. e.g. John M. Leighton, Select Views on the River Clyde...With historical and descriptive illustrations (Glasgow, ?1830), p.22.
 Typical of nineteenth-century prints are the undated productions of Corra Linn by Allom & Allan, Ewbank & Lizars, of Bonnington Linn by Allom & Benjamin, and of Stonebyres Linn by Allom & Benjamin, Catermole & Willmore.
86. The Journal of Sir Walter Scott, edited by W.E.K.Anderson (Oxford, 1972), p.349, 8 September 1827.

b. Other Scottish Landscapes in Oil

1. NGS, The Discovery of Scotland, cat.6.29, repro.fig. 68.
2. The painting probably entered the collection in the nineteenth century, as it was not listed in the Amisfield House list of 1771, or the published version of 1792. In the 1937 list it was attributed to Richard Wilson. Sir Ellis Waterhouse later attributed it to George Barret, and it was so entered in the 1955 list. It was identified as by Jacob More in [?]1965. Information kindly supplied by The Rt. Hon. the Earl of Weymss and March.
3. NGS, The Discovery of Scotland, cat.6.30.
4. See NGS, The Discovery of Scotland, sections 6 and 7.
5. Beugo, p.23n.
6. Sale, Galliera, Paris, 15 March 1973 (lot 11), as Les Pêcheurs de saumon; sale, Sotheby, 28 August 1975 (lot 280), as Neidpath Castle, near Peebles; sold Spink, March 1976 (photograph from Witt Library).
7. Gough, II, 694; mentioned in thesis pp.60-1.
8. NLS, George Paton Correspondence, MS 29.5.7.(iii), f.57, 30 September 1779.
9. Walker, p.38 (cat.14).
10. Kinfauns Castle Catalogue, p.19.
11. Walker, pp.35-7.
12. Walker, p.37.
13. Kinfauns Castle Catalogue, p.11.
14. Caw, p.39; partly quoted p.16 of thesis.
15. See p.85, and Appendix A.
16. 8 December 1950 (lot 115); panel, sold for £13-13-0.
17. M.H.Grant, III (1958), 215 (Brig o' Turk is seven miles west of Callander, not far from Loch Lomond, where More also sketched - see pp.29-30).
18. Ramsay, The Gentle Shepherd, II, 450.

19. Sale Dowells, 5-8, 12-14 March 1887, second part (lot 891), 11" x 15".
20. Cat.6.16, repro.fig.64.
21. e.g. exactly the same scene in Robert Freebairn's Neptune's Grotto: Tivoli, oil on canvas, 92.5 x 123.7cm, inscribed 'Freebairn, 1807', coll. Dr.& Mrs. Sherman E.Lee; exh: Detroit Institute of Arts, Romantic Art in Britain, 1968 (101), & repro.
Robert Freebairn (1765-1808), a student of Richard Wilson, worked in Italy for about ten years (Bénézit).
22. 23 July 1954 (lot 153), (photograph in Witt Library).
23. Ex. coll. Andrew Turner, Edinburgh; photographs in SNPG and Aitken Dott files. Present whereabouts unknown.
24. D.& F.Irwin, p.128, and Plate 53.

c. More in London, c.1771-c.1773

1. Stoddart, I, 160.
2. Brydall, p.159.
3. Stoddart, I, 160, and Gough, II, 703; see pp.60-1 & 77 of thesis.
4. p.115, and Appendix A. see J.D.Macmillan,
5. Farington, Diary, ed. Greig, VI (1926), 144, 20 September 1810.
6. Walker, pp.33-4.
7. Joseph Farington, Memoirs of the Life of Sir Joshua Reynolds; with some observations on his talents and character (London, 1819), p.65.
8. James Northcote, Memoirs of Sir Joshua Reynolds Ll.D., F.S.A. (London, 1813), p.137 (became pupil).
An account of Northcote's meeting with More is given p.218.
9. RA, Society of Artists MSS, 46/9; More's membership of the Society is recorded by Graves, SA, p.322.

10. An account of Martin's career is made by D.& F.Irwin, pp.65-8, though his appointment to the Society is not noted; the information is found in Graves, SA, p.322, & DNB.
11. See Appendix A.
12. See pp.98-101.
13. SRO, Seafield Papers, MS GD 248/839, 2 February 1768.
14. Pembroke Papers, p.223, Hippisley said of him in 1779 'his only fault is too much modesty'.
15. RA, Anderdon MSS, 7/117, Rome, 9 April 1790.
16. W.G.Constable, Richard Wilson (London, 1953), p.51.
17. Thomas Jones, p.10, [undated] entries for 1763-4.
18. Thomas Jones, p.53, 27 November 1776.
19. See p.39.
20. George Winchester Stone, Jr., The London Stage 1660-1800, Part 4 (1747-1776), 3 vols (Carbondale, Illinois, 1962), III, lists all available material, but does not mention More.
The Covent Garden Account Books, 1771-4, BL, Egerton 2268-2278, contain no record of More. Payment to scenepainters was made through other persons, e.g. Egerton 2276, f.10, 'Paid Mr. Emery for Scene Men'; payments were made directly to the top painters, however, such as Cipriani (f.40), and Dall (f.150).
21. Crookshank & Glin, pp.111-2.
22. See Catalogue of exh: Greater London Council (hereafter GLC), Iveagh Bequest, Kenwood, Philip James de Loutherbourg, RA, 1740-1810 (London, 1973), and Ralph G. Allen, 'The Stage Spectacles of Philip James de Loutherbourg' (unpublished P.h. D. thesis, Yale University, 1960).
23. Memoirs of the Life and Writings of William Hayley, Esq., written by himself... (London, 1823), I, 57.
24. Graves, SA, p.321.
25. J.D.Macmillan, p.217.
26. J.D.Macmillan, p.92.
27. Graves, SA, pp.307-10.
28. Graves, SA, pp.321-3.

CHAPTER FOUR:ROME:THE EARLY YEARS, c.1777-1780

a. Introduction: British Artists in Rome

1. Lady Knight's Letters from France and Italy 1776-1795, edited by Lady Eliott-Drake (London, 1905), p.53, letter of 15 May 1778.
2. Biblioteca Nazionale, Rome, Dept. of MSS, Notizie per l'anno, the official directory of the city.
3. Giuseppe Marc'Antonio Baretti, An Account of the Manners and Customs of Italy..., second edition, 2 vols (London, 1769), I, 274.
4. The oddity of the situation was noted at the time, e.g. Johann W. von Archenholz, A Picture of Italy, translated from the original German...By J.Trapp, 2 vols (London, 1791), I, 243-4, 'it is remarkable, that the Italians are in general very fond of the English, notwithstanding the great distance which religion and other matters have put between the two nations'.
5. John Moore, A View of Society and Manners in Italy, 2 vols, (London, 1781), I, 385.
6. See D.B.Horn, Great Britain and Europe in the Eighteenth Century (Oxford, 1967), p.334; the question of consular representation was raised three times between 1787 and 1791 without achieving anything.
7. The Archives of the English Province of the Society of Jesus, Farm St., London (hereafter SJ Archives), Letters from Father John Thorpe at Rome to Henry, Eighth Baron Arundell of Wardour at Wardour Castle, 1773 to 1791 (transcribed 1916-17), f.8, 6 February 1774.
8. BL, Francis Papers, IV, Add MSS 40759, f.27, Sir Peter Francis to Dr. John Campbell, Rome, 17 October 1772.
9. Thomas Watkins, Travels through Switzerland, Italy, Sicily... in the years 1787, 1788, 1789, second edition, 2 vols (London, 1794), II, 93.
10. Arturo Graf, L'Anglomania, e l'influsso inglese in Italia nel secolo XVII, (Turin, 1911), pp.283-5.
11. Goethe, Italian Journey, p.122, 7 November 1786.

12. James Northall, Travels through Italy, containing New and Curious Observations on that Country... (London, 1766), p.126.
13. Census records of the Vicariato of Rome, held in the Archives of St. John Lateran, Rome: the parishes of S. Lorenzo in Lucina, and S. Nicola in Archione.
The census was not compiled thoroughly every year, but More was listed -

S.Lorenzo in Lucina	1773	Mr. Mor ^e . Pitt ^e
	1774	Monsù Morè
	1777	Monsu More
	1779	Monsu Morej
	1780	Monsù Moris
	1781	Monsieur More
	1787	Monsieur More
14. S.Nicola in Archione

1790	M ^{ur} . Morre Protest ^e . Pitt ^e
1791	Mons. Morre Protestante Pittore
1792	M ^f . Morre Protestante Pittore-53
1793	M. Morre Protestante Pittore-54
15. Stephen L. Gwynn, Memorials of an Eighteenth Century Painter (James Northcote), (London, 1898), p.138.
16. Pembroke Papers, p.273, 26 September 1779.
17. Farington, Diary, ed. Greig, III, 53, 1 February 1805.
18. Roma e la nobiltà romana nel tramonto del secolo XVIII, (Città di Castello, 1914), pp.36-7.
James Boswell, Boswell on the Grand Tour: Italy, Corsica and France 1765-66, edited by Frank Brady and Frederick A. Pottle (Yale, 1955), p.74, 22 April 1765, Boswell asks for letters to be sent to the Caffè Inglese.
19. John Wilton-Ely, The Mind and Art of Giovanni Battista Piranesi (London, 1978), p.108; Piranesi's etching of the design, c.1769, Plate 200.
20. Thomas Jones, p.62, 11 July 1777.
21. Canova, p.107, 19 March 1780 and various other entries.
22. W.G.Constable, pp.26-7.
23. BL, Flaxman Papers, Add MSS 39780-39792: I, 39780, f.45, Flaxman to his parents, Rome, 30 August 1788.
The only pictorial record known is that of David Allan, The Arrival of a Young Traveller and his Suite during Carnival, in Piazza de' Spagna, Rome, brown wash over pen and pencil, 40 x 54cm, s. & d. 1775, Royal coll., Windsor; repro. in Brinsley Ford, 'James Byres: Principal Antiquarian for the English Visitors to Rome', Apollo, 99 (1967), 446-461, Plate 12.

23. (cont.) There is no mention of the Coffee House after c.1820. In J.D.Sinclair, An Autumn in Italy...in 1827 (Edinburgh, 1829), p.230, the party of visitors to Rome assemble at the Caffè Greco to go to Tivoli; in this and other travel books of the period, no reference is made to an English café, although café life is fully described.

b. The Early Italian Landscape Paintings

1. Farington, Diary, ed. Greig, VI (1926), 144, 20 September 1810.
2. MS Letter, Rome, 30 March 1774.
This material is not included in the Thorpe transcripts among the SJ Archives; the information was kindly communicated by Mr. Howard Colvin.
3. Identified by James Holloway.
Prov: The Earl of Rosslyn, Mrs.J.Davies, and Sotheby, 21 November 1979 (lot 78).

Exh: GLC, The Iveagh Bequest, Kenwood, Gaspard Duguet called Gaspard Poussin 1615-75, 1980 (76).

George Arnald (1763-1841), marine and landscape painter; typical of Arnald's work in this subject are -
Wooded Landscape; with Dido and Aeneas caught in a storm near Carthage, oil, 100.3 x 142.1cm, s.& d. 1813, sold Christie, 22 November 1974 (lot 182)
A Mountainous Wooded Landscape, oil, 57.8 x 74.2cm, sold Christie, 3-4 August 1978 (lot 289)
(Photographs in Witt Library).
4. GLC, Gaspard Duguet (76), Storm Scene with a View of Lake Albano.
5. More's own reference to Wilson is quoted p.86.
6. Ex. coll. Lady Mary Duncan; Leger Galleries 1978.
7. Thomas Sutton, The Daniells: Artists and Travellers (London, 1954).
8. Seguiet, p.131; 1816 - sold for £23-2-0,
1830 - sold for £3-0-0.
9. BL, Loch Family Papers, Add MSS 40885, f.114, Rome, 8 October 1776.

10. BL, Loch, Add MSS 40885, f.139, More to James Loch, Rome, 29 March 1777.
11. BL, Loch, Add MSS 40885, f.124, Rome, 5 November 1785.
12. Census records, Vicariato of Rome.
13. Gordon Loch, The Family of Loch (Edinburgh, 1934), p.235.
14. Williamson, p.43 and Appendix p.6.
15. Ford, 'James Byres', p.456.
16. Pembroke Papers, p.263, 23 September 1779.
17. Dundee 116/12. Presented by C.C.Maxwell.
The painting is too dirty for photographs to be of much value.
Perhaps exh: Dundee, British Association Exh., 1867 (247)
Dundee, British Association Exh., 1947 (65)

Information from Miss Clara Young, Keeper of Art, Dundee City Art Gallery, who kindly arranged moving of painting for inspection.
18. See Plates 30, 61, 62, 64, 67 & 72.

c. More as Draughtsman to Allan Ramsay

1. Master Drawings, 14 (1976), 280-6.
2. NLS, MS 730.
3. Sold Christie, 14 November 1972 (lot 87).
4. Holloway, 'Horace's Sabine Villa', p.284.
- * 5. NLS, General Ramsay's Diary: Diary of John Ramsay, 11 December 1782-5 May 1784, MSS 1833-4; MS 1833, f.34.
6. NLS, MS 1833, f.106, 1 July 1784.
7. e.g. J.J.Rossiter, 'Roman Farm Buildings in Italy', B.A.R. International Series, 52 (1978), p.38.
8. The discrepancy is not discussed in previous archaeological works and guide books; the standard publication is Giuseppe Lugli, La Villa d'Orazio nella valle del Licenza..., Curiosità italiane di storia, arte e folklore, no.2 (Rome, 1930).
- * Plate Q - Engraving by B.A.Dunker after Philipp Hackert, Vue du Village de Licenza, 1782 (Courtauld Institute Print Collection).

CHAPTER FIVE: THE ITALIAN LANDSCAPE PAINTINGS, 1780-1793

a. Oil Paintings

1. Information on alternative title kindly supplied by Lady Phyllis MacRae, a relative of the present Lord Bristol. More's work for Bristol is discussed in Chapter Ten.
2. Not viewed; information and photograph given by Martyn Gregory.
3. W.G.Constable, pp.168-9, cat.27 & Plates 27a,b,c.
4. W.G.Constable, p.168.
5. D.Irwin, 'Jacob More', p.778 & note 22, and D.& F.Irwin, p.427, note 47, suggest that it was exhibited in 1783 as View of the Campagna from Tivoli, with Maecenas's villa and the Cascatella (207, RA); this cannot be correct as the painting does not show any part of Tivoli, Maecenas's Villa, or the waterfalls around the town. More's paintings of these subjects are discussed in Chapter Six.
6. Pembroke Papers, quoted p.97.
Canova, p.138, 12 June 1780, 'la villa di Ciccerone di Napoli'.
7. NLS, Diary of John Ramsay, MS 1833, f.48, 10 March 1783.
8. Sir James Edward Smith, A Sketch of a Tour on the Continent in the years 1786 and 1787, 3 vols (London, 1793), II, 147, remarked on climbing the hill of Tusculum that the ruins were 'not authorized by any satisfactory evidence'.
The site is still disputed: see Rome and Environs, edited by Alta MacAdam, Blue Guides Series, second edition (London, 1979), p.341.
9. See Brinsley Ford, 'The Earl Bishop: An Eccentric and Capricious Patron of the Arts', Apollo, 99 (1974), 426-434; More's painting repro. Plate 3, Hackert's repro. Plate 4.
Hackert's painting appears to be based on an earlier composition, Landscape in Italy, oil, 60.9 x 85.1cm, s.& d. 1775, sold Christie, 9 February 1979 (lot 135), repro. in catalogue (information from Witt Library).
10. Canova, p.111, 30 March 1780, 'gran quantità di quadri'.

11. Canova, p.138, 12 June 1780, '5 quadri terminati uno Râp^{te} il vesuvio come describe plinio, laltro un deluvio de pioggia tutto due divini ne vidi poi altri 3 la caduta di terni, la villa di mecenate di Tivoli, e la villa di Ciccerone di Napoli'.
12. BL, Cumberland Papers, III, Add MSS 36493, f.128, Irvine to Cumberland, Rome, 10 February 1781.
13. More's membership of the Accademia is discussed pp.226-30.
14. See p.130, and Appendix A.
15. The collection was investigated at the suggestion of Mr. Timothy Clifford.
16. Information kindly provided by the late Col. Langford-Brooke. The Parkinson Journals, in private ownership, are noted by Ford, 'James Byres', p.447 & note 8.
17. South Humberside RO, Parkinson Papers, MS 542-2-16b, undated letter Parkinson to Langford-Brooke, received 18 February [1784]. Information kindly supplied by Hugh Belsey.
18. EUL, La II 648/180, More to Harvey, Rome, 8 January 1785.
19. W.G.Constable: Wilton House paintings pp.188-9, Plate 58b
White Monk series pp.227-30, Plates 122a,b
Views of Rome discussed pp.218-9, Plates
111a, 107a,b.
20. EUL, La II 648/180, More to Harvey, Rome, 8 January 1785.
21. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, La IV 25, f.51, to Patteson, 1 February 1787.
22. Ford, 'James Byres', p.457 & note 75; Ford gives the reference as N.Ireland Public Record Office, D 2433/69/21, but this is incorrect, and the actual source has not been traced.
23. Recorded in the ownership of Joseph Procter (Master of the College 1799-1845), whose administrator Francis Procter gave it to the College. Listed in Pictures in St. Catherine's College, Cambridge (Cambridge, 1950), p.22.
Exh: Rome, Il Settecento a Roma, 1959 (392) .
Arts Council of Great Britain, Newcastle & London,
The Art of Claude Lorrain 1969 (138)
Milan, Pittura Inglese 1660-1840, 1975 (67)

24. Claude exhibition listed note 23 this section.
De Louthembourg e.g. Travellers attacked by Banditti, oil on canvas, 67 x 105.7cm, 1781, Tate Gallery T.921, and An Avalanche in the Alps, oil on canvas, 109.6 x 159.6cm, 1803, Tate Gallery T.772.
25. Transcribed in Appendix C.
26. EUL, La II 648/180, More to Harvey, Rome, 8 January 1785.
27. More's connections with the Accademia are discussed pp.226-30.
The Self-Portrait is discussed pp.230-7.
28. Cat.3316, Morning, 3317, Evening.
29. Sale Henry Goding, Christie, 8 June 1886 (lots 49,50); bought by the Earl of Haddington for Ardenne Hall, Cheshire; Ardenne Hall Sale, 1958, bought by Greenshields; bought from Greenshields by Gallery 1975 (information from Gallery).
30. Anthony Blunt, The Paintings of Nicolas Poussin: A Critical Catalogue (London, 1966), p.9, cat.4, Summer or Ruth and Boaz; two engravings are noted.
31. Blunt, p.112, cat.154, The Triumph of Flora.
32. Goethe, Italian Journey, p.357, 9 July 1787.
33. Hackert is discussed pp.178-80.
34. Sold Christie, 18 November 1960 (lot 101), and Sotheby, 18 April 1962 (lot 120); (photographs from Witt Library).
35. Marcel Röthlisberger, Claude Lorrain: The Paintings, Yale Publications in the History of Art 13, 2 vols (London, 1961), cat.232, fig.96 (c.1639).
36. Although traditionally ascribed this title, the painting actually shows the Holy Family travelling.
37. See also J.C.B.Cooksey.
38. See pp.180-1.
39. Didier Bodart, Dessins de la Collection Thomas Ashby à la Bibliothèque Vaticane (Vatican, 1975), cat.163, repro.Plate LXXV.
40. Sidney Sale, Christie, 14 March 1952 (lot 85); photograph from Witt Library.

41. Pembroke Papers, p.263, 23 September, quoted more fully p.97 of thesis.
42. Ford, 'James Byres', pp.457-8, Byres to Yorke, 14 February 1784; see note 22 of this section regarding source reference.
43. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.50, 1 February 1787.
44. Sir Richard Colt Hoare, A Description of the House and Gardens at Stourhead (Bath, 1818), p.8.
 " The Modern History of South Wiltshire, I, part I (London, 1822), p.81.
 " Catalogue of the Hoare Library at Stourhead, Wilts (Bath, 1840), no.749.

Hoare's collecting activities in Italy are described in Kenneth Woodbridge, Landscape and Antiquity: Aspects of English Culture at Stourhead, 1718 to 1834 (Oxford, 1970).

45. Traced from a reference provided by Mr. John Fleming.
Also detail Plate 57, discussed p.167.
46. Christie Sale, 11 June 1926 (lot 147); ex.coll. Mrs. T.G.Booth, of Hawstead House, nr. Bury St. Edmunds (Lord Bristol's mansion Ickworth is also in the Bury St. Edmunds area). Information and photograph from Witt Library: the Library note gives the date of the painting as 1797; More died in 1793, and the similarity between this composition and the River Landscape of 1790 would suggest the date 1791.
47. Stolberg, I, 387, 14 January 1792.
48. Cat. 333 & 334, on loan from A.S.Ludlow.
49. Information and photograph kindly supplied by Galerie Art & Antiques, Basle.

b. Lost Landscape Subjects

1. J.P.Neale, Views of the Seats of Noblemen and Gentlemen in England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, second series, 6 vols (London, 1818-23), VI, n.p.
2. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.26, [10 November-16 December], 1786.
3. Private MSS collection, USA, Jacob More (nephew of the artist) to Hamilton, Rome, 22 February 1794. Quoted fully p.307.
4. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.27, [10-16] December 1786.
5. The poem is not included in Appendix C.
Memorie, II, 127: 'Ecco pietoso pescator, che trasse
Fuori dell'acque giovanetta madre
Col tener bambin...'.
6. Memorie, II, 128, '...altri pescatori intenti
A tirare alla sponda la sdruscita
Picciola barca, che seguia la nave'.
7. Memorie, II, 130, 'Oh del suolo di Scozia alto ornamento,
MOOR...'.
8. The similarity of style between the paintings of More and van Bloemen is discussed p.160.
9. Stolberg, I, 387, 14 January 1792.
Allan Ramsay, The Gentle Shepherd, II, 450, lists a 'sea-port, with a high tower on the foreground' in the Newhall House collection in 1808, though this may not have been a Tempest scene.
10. Private MSS collection, letter Father Thorpe to Lord Arundell, Rome, 30 March 1774. This letter is also quoted p.93.
11. Canova, p.138, 12 June 1780, 'un deluvio di pioggia'. Quoted in full in note 11, section a. of this Chapter.
12. BL, Cumberland Papers III, Add MSS 36493, f.128, Irvine to Cumberland, Rome, 10 February 1781. Also quoted p.107.
13. Giornale delle belle Arti, I, 107 (not in Appendix C).
14. Goethe, Italian Journey, p.357, 9 July 1787.
15. Giuliano Briganti, Il Palazzo del Quirinale (Rome, 1962), Plate XX.
Exh: Bologna, I Carracci, 1956 (114).

16. Blunt, p.10, cat.6.
17. Thomas Jones, p.53, 27 November 1776. Quoted p.87.
18. Exh: V&A, The Rediscovery of an Artist: The Drawings of James Jefferys (1751-84), 1976 (4).
19. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.15, [26 September-28] October 1786.
20. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.26, [10 November-16] December 1786.
21. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.46, [3-11] January 1787.
22. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.77, [19 May-20] June 1787.
23. Private MSS collection, USA, Jacob More (nephew of the artist) to Hamilton, Rome, 22 February 1794. Quoted fully p.307.
24. Bristol frequently rejected work he had commissioned; see p.262.
25. Jacob More sale, Christie, 26-7 February 1796, second day (lot 92); bought by Francis for £110-5-0.
26. Earl of Morton sale, Dalmahoy, Dowells, 30 April 1927 (lot 114), approx. 152 x 205cm (60" x 81").

c. Watercolour and Drawings, Copies and Engravings

1. The watercolours of waterfall scenes at Tivoli and Terni are discussed pp.194-7.
Sold Sotheby, 27 November 1975 (lot 97), repro. in catalogue.
2. Sold Sotheby, 27 November 1975 (lot 96), repro. in catalogue.
Present whereabouts unknown.
3. See Plates 25, 31 & 40.
4. Sold Sotheby, 9 August 1887 (lot 850), bought Dr. John Percy;
Percy sale, Christie, 5 April 1890, 4th. day (lot 836), bought Roberts;
purchased from Meatyard by Sir Robert Witt; Witt Bequest 1952.
Information from Witt collection; other watercolours by More in Percy sale listed Appendix A.
5. Yale, B.1977.14.145. Bought from Martyn Gregory (not seen).

6. Yale, B.1977.14.5480. Ex.coll. L.G.Duke, London (not seen).
Exh: Norwich, Eighteenth-Century Italy and the Grand Tour, 1958 (39).
7. Purchased in London c.1955. Information from present owner (seen).
8. Same collection as Terracina, note 7 this section.
9. Sotheby sale, 7 July 1977 (lot 40), repro. in catalogue.
The Falls of Tivoli were the same lot number. Measurements from Sotheby.

Viewed at the Fine Art Society, London, 1978; listed in their catalogue, Watercolours 1780-1950 (52), 53.9 x 73cm, described as 'one of a series resulting from More's work with Alan(sic) Ramsay on the latter's unpublished Enquiry into the Situation and Circumstances of Horace's Sabine Villa. It has in fact no connection with the series - the site is near Lake Albano, south of Rome.
10. Richard Wilson, Tomb of the Horatii and Curatii, oil on canvas, 47.5 x 71.5cm, coll the Earl of Pembroke, Wilton. See W.G.Constable, pp.203-4 & Plate 82b.

Alexander Runciman, Tomb of the Horatii, wash over ink, 21.8 x 31cm, signed, NGS D329, repro. D.& F.Irwin, Plate 52.
11. Purchased 1977 from Sanders, Oxford. No earlier provenance.
12. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.81, 20 June 1787.
13. N.Ireland RO, Hervey-Bruce Papers, Shanahan to Bristol, Downhill, 6 January 1786. Information kindly communicated by Mr. Peter Rankin.
Lord Bristol's patronage is discussed in Chapter Ten.
14. EUL, La II 648/181, More to Harvey, Rome, 22 September 1786.
15. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.17.

John Crome sale, Athow, Norwich, 25 September - 1 October 1821, 4th. day (lot 103).
16. Sandys relationship with More is discussed pp.271-2.
17. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.13, [26 September-10 November] 1786.
18. V&A, MSS Eng. 86-JJ-Box II, Rome, 23 December 1786.

19. John McGowan sale, Philipe, London, 26 January 1804; framed and glazed watercolours (lot 71).
20. EUL, La IV 26, More to Walker, Rome, 1 May 1793.
21. Cririe, pp.239-40, note 7.
22. Coll. Basil Skinner, Edinburgh.
23. e.g. NGS D85, Plate 2.
24. BM, 1890-5-12-123(2), purchased from Percy sale (lot 839).
25. e.g. Alexander Nasmyth, watercolour inscribed, s.& d. 'St. Peter's from Monte Mario done on the spot in 1783. A:Nasmyth' on mount, 12.5 x 20.9cm, Ashby coll. Vatican; repro. in Bodart, cat.210, Plate CVIII.
See Rome and Environs for details of location.
26. From Laing Bequest, 1910.
27. See Plate 2.
28. From Laing Bequest.
29. Thomas Jones, pp.79-80, 1 October 1778. More's volcano paintings are discussed in Chapter Seven.
30. Catalogue numbers not definite - recataloguing in progress.
31. e.g. NGS D285, Plate 2.
32. NLS, Diary of John Ramsay, MS 1834, f.152, 26 September 1783.
33. John 'Warwick' Smith, Tomb of the Plautian Family, near Tivoli, and Ponte Lucano, watercolour, 12.8 x 19.2cm, Ashmolean, Oxford, repro. Herrmann, Plate 73b.
Richard Cooper, Ponte Lucano, Tivoli, wash over pencil, 30 x 44.6cm, s.& d. 'Richd. Cooper del./ Antient Tomb of Plautius - Ponte Lucano 2 miles from Tivoli', NGS D1371.
Historical details in Rome and Environs, p.358.
34. Cicero, pp.103-5
Daphne and Apollo, pp.239-45
Licenza series, pp.98-101
Panorama, pp.300-4.
35. Cat. 40.55; presented by Miss Eyre.
36. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.84, 24 June 1787.

37. Monte Cassino - halfway between Rome and Naples, on the inland road via Caserta
 Chilano - probably Celano, a region and town in the Abruzzi, about 50 miles east of Rome
 Bolzano - in Alto Adige, on the road to Switzerland
 Civitelli - probably Civitella Roveto, on the river Roveto, near Celano
 Capostrella - near Fucine, Alto Adige
 Chieta - area and town in the Abbruzzi, near Pescara, about 80 miles east of Rome.
38. Basil Skinner, Scots in Italy in the 18th Century (Edinburgh, 1966), p.35.
 Bute sale, Christie, 19 March 1796.
39. Little is known of Carr; see Brinsley Ford, 'Johnson Carr (1744-1765): His only Authenticated Work?', Burlington, 90 (1948), 354.
40. See p.180-1. Several extant drawings are very like those by More, e.g. the Witt collection's Italian Sketch, watercolour over pencil, 15.3 x 16.7cm, bought from Alistair Mathews 1977 (cat.81, item 24).
41. H.L.Mallalieu, The Dictionary of British Watercolour Artists up to 1920, 2 vols (Antique Collectors Club, Woodbridge, 1976 & 1979), II, 459, repro. A View of Vico Varo, Italy, as a watercolour by Jacob More.
42. Memorie, I, 56-7.
43. Memorie, I, 55.
44. NLS, Diary of John Ramsay, MS 1833, f.56, 29 March 1783.
45. Sir William Hamilton sale, Christie, 27-8 March 1801, watercolours (lots 25,26), oils (27,28).
46. Viewed; repro. in Woodbridge and Witt Library.
47. Hoare, The Modern History of South Wiltshire, p.83.
48. Watson Bequest Portfolio. Size of whole sheet, with inscription, 48.4 x 58.4cm.
49. Giovanni Battista Piranesi (1720-1778). Thomas Jones, p.63, recorded meeting him 21 August 1777 (he also provided the mural decorations for the Caffè Inglese, see p.92 of thesis).
50. Goethe, Italian Journey, p.407, October 1787.
 EUL, More's MS Letterbook, various refs. including f.13, More to Sandys [26 October-28 October] 1786, 'I gave Your best Compt. to him [Volpato] and... [he] begs to be rememberd to You'.

51. See Louis Fagan, A Catalogue Raisonné of the engraved works of William Woollett (London, 1885).
For a general history of engraving in London in the eighteenth century, see H.A.Bruntjen, 'John Boydell (1719-1804): A Study of Art Patronage and Publishing in Georgian London' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Stanford, 1974).
52. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, ff.14-15, [26 September-28 October] 1786.
53. Fagan, p.44; in 1771 Woollett was working on an engraving after de Louthembourg's A Storm at Sea.
54. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.22, 10 November 1786. The identity of this patron has not been established.
55. See pp.128-9.
56. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.23, 10 November 1786.
57. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.26, [10 November-16 December] 1786.
58. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.26.
59. More to John McGowan, Rome, 23 December 1786 (V&A, Eng.MSS. 86-JJ-Box II). The rough draft in the Letterbook does not mention engraving.
60. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.45, [3-11] January 1787.
61. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.46.
62. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.57, 3 March 1787.
63. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, ff.61-2, 5 May 1787.
64. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.70, [19 May-20 June] 1787.
65. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.83, 24 June 1787.
66. See Bénézit for details of career.
67. Jacob More sale, Christie, 26-7 February 1796, annotated catalogue (Christie's Archive), added at end of second day.
68. Private MSS collection, USA, Jacob More (nephew of the artist), to Sir William Hamilton, Rome, 22 February 1794. Also quoted p.307.

d. Methods, Theories and Influences

1. Fuller quotation p.9.
2. Also quoted p.12.
3. Also quoted p.13.
4. Appendix C.5, lines 19-23.
5. Appendix C.9, lines 44-5.
6. e.g. Appendix C.7, lines 37-8.
7. Morning Post, 4 May 1786. Partly quoted p.11 of thesis. The critic is reviewing the View of the Campagna of Rome (RA Exh., 404).
8. Elizabeth Wheeler Manwaring, Italian Landscape in Eighteenth Century England: a study chiefly of the influence of Claude Lorrain and Salvator Rosa on English Taste, 1700-1800 (New York, 1925)

Deborah Howard, 'Some Eighteenth-Century Followers of Claude', Burlington, 111 (1969), 726-33.

Arts Council of Great Britain, Newcastle & London, The Art of Claude Lorrain (London, 1969)
9. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.70 [19 May-20 June] 1787.
10. Marquess of Headfort sale, Christie, 21 June 1974 (lot 150); Marquess of Headfort sale, Christie, 25 November 1977 (lot 151), repro. both catalogues.

Exh: Sotheby, Art into Art: Works of Art as a Source of Inspiration, 1971 (239).
11. Röthlisberger, I, cat.LV 86, and II, fig.164, 102 x 127cm, c.1664-5. Various engravings, including Pond & Knapton, 1741-6.

Arts Council, The Art of Claude Lorrain, Plate 37, George Lambert's version, also in reverse.
12. e.g. Catalogue of Palazzo Colonna, Catalogo dei Quadri, e Pitture esistenti nel Palazzo dell'eccellentissima Casa Colonna in Roma (Rome, 1783), which included 13 works by Claude, 39 by Dughet, 43 by van Bloemen, & 4 by Momper.
13. See Andrea Busiri Vici, Jan Frans van Bloemen: Orrizonte: e l'origine del paesaggio romano settecentesco (Rome, 1974), and Andrea Locatelli e il paesaggio romano del settecento (Rome, 1976).

14. See note 12 of this section, and
 Archivio Villa Borghese, Rome, MS Al/39, Stato Nominativo e Numerico di tutti i Quadri di Proprietà di S.E. il Sig. Ppe. Don Cammillo Borghese estratti della da lui Galleria in Roma, e spediti a Torino li 6 7bre 1809 (Titles and number of all the paintings belonging to...Prince Borghese taken from his Gallery in Rome and sent to Turin the 6 September 1809); the list includes at least 52 paintings by van Bloemen.
15. Joos de Momper (1564-1635), Flemish; details in Bénézit.
16. RA, Anderdon MSS, 7/117, Rome, 9 April 1790.
17. Examples of de Momper's work repro. in Yvonne Thiéry, Le Paysage Flamand au XVIIe siècle (Paris, 1953).
18. Pembroke Papers, p.263, 23 September 1779 (the visit is described p.97 of thesis).
 For details of Hippisley, see DNB and Brinsley Ford, 'Sir John Coxe Hippisley: An Unofficial English Envoy to the Vatican', Apollo, 99. (1974), 440-5.
19. RA, Anderdon MSS, grangerised sale catalogue, Sotheby, 12 July 1863 (lot 70), More to Harvey, Rome, 15 July 1786.
20. EUL, La II 648/180, Rome, 8 January 1785.
21. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, ff.71-2, [19 May-20 June] 1787.
 (some passages crossed out in More's hand are not included).
22. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.73.
23. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.52, [1-8] February 1787.
24. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, ff.52-3.
25. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, ff.74-6, [19 May-20 June] 1787.
26. Farington, Diary, ed. Garlick & MacIntyre, VI (1979), 2317, 9 May 1804. See p.88 of thesis for More's possible connection with de Louthembourg in London.
27. Thomas Jones, p.62, 17 June 1777.
28. Whitley, I, 385.
29. Farington, Diary, ed. Garlick & MacIntyre, I (1978), 172, 18 March 1794.

30. Beaumont's comment on colour quoted in DNB and Hussey, p.248.
Farington, Diary, ed. Greig, VII (1927), 125-6, 27 October 1812.
31. Henry Peacham, The Art of Drawing with the Pen, first published 1606, facsimile edition (Amsterdam, 1970).
Edward Dayes, 'Instructions for Drawing and Coloring Landscapes', in The Works of the late Edward Dayes (London, 1805), pp.279-311.
32. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.71 [19 May-20 June] 1787.
33. James Nasmyth: Engineer: An Autobiography, edited by Samuel Smiles (London, 1883), p.38.
Ellis Waterhouse, Gainsborough (London, 1958), p.19.
34. Appendix C.5, lines 50-2.
35. Sir Joshua Reynolds, Discourses on Art, edited by Robert R.Wark, second edition (Yale, 1975), Discourse IV, lines 391-2.
36. Pierre-Henri de Valenciennes, Éléments de Perspective Pratique ...suivis de réflexions et conseils à un élève sur la peinture (Paris, 1800), p.280.
37. See p.230-3.
38. Jones quoted in full p.144.
39. Listed note 37, section c. of this Chapter.
40. EUL, More's Letterbook, f.21, to Mark Davies, 10 November 1786.
41. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.21.
42. RA, Anderdon MSS, 6/48 (i), More to Harvey, Rome, 22 August 1785.
43. Gwynn, P.138.
44. Northall, p.355.
45. First published 1828 (London, 1949), p.68.
46. Dr. Burney's Musical Tours in Europe, edited by Percy A.Scholes, 2 vols (Oxford, 1959), I, 206, 26 September 1770.
NLS, Diary of John Ramsay, MS 1834, f.154, 29 September 1783.
The Villa was purchased by the Borghese family in 1840, and the frescoes transferred to the Borghese collection; they are still in the collection today - see Melchiorri, Guida Metodica (Rome, 1840), and Paola della Pergola, Galleria Borghese: I Dipinti, 2 vols (Rome, 1955 & 1959), II, cats. 180-2.
The Villa itself was destroyed in the bombardment of Rome, 1849.

47. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.72, [19 May-20 June] 1787.
48. Encyclopaedia Britannica : or, A Dictionary of Arts and Sciences, compiled upon a new plan...., By a Society of Gentlemen in Scotland, 3 vols (Edinburgh, 1771).
49. Johnathan Richardson, the elder and younger, An Account of of some of the Statues, Bas-reliefs, Drawings and Pictures in Italy, France, etc. (London, 1722), pp.186-8.
50. Reynolds, Discourse XIV, lines 283-4.
51. NGS 2240, oil on canvas, 73 x 114cm, s.& d. 1652.
52. L.Zentner, A Select Collection of Landscapes, from the best Old Masters... (London, 1791), Plate 32.
Röthlisberger, I, 15, thinks there are only a few pictures, 'all preceding the beginning of the Liber Veritas, in which the figures are executed - on Claude's instructions - by other hands, none of whom can be identified'.
53. Watkins, I, 357, fully quoted p.243.
54. Dayes, p.194, from Essays in Painting, I, 'On the Principles of Composition as connected with Landscape Painting', pp.191-202 (194).
55. RA, Anderdon MSS, grangerised sale catalogue, 6/47, Sotheby, 12 July 1863 (lot 69), More to Harvey, Rome, 18 April 1786.
56. Herts RO, Panshanger Papers, D/EP 310/106, Rev. William Sandys to Cowper, St. Minver, Cornwall, 27 July 1780.
More's relationship with Sandys is discussed pp. 270-2.
57. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.38, to Dorrin (?an agent), [16-23] December 1786, '3 Crayon drawings'.
58. EUL, La IV 26, More to Walker, Rome, 1 May 1793.
59. Heinrich Wilhelm Tischbein, Aus Meinem Leben, first published 1861 (Berlin, 1956), p.144, 'Moor macht seine Luftstudien, damit es geschwind ginge, mit Pastell'.
60. EUL, La II 648/280, Walker to Messrs. Cadell & Davies, Edinburgh, 13 June 1804.
61. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.63, 19 May 1787.
62. Only the 1790 landscape pair are seriously damaged, though there are some cracks in the thicker paint layers of the Vesuvius of 1780, Plates 74 & 75.

63. EUL, La IV 26, More to George Walker, Rome, 1 May 1793.
See also EUL, La II 648/180, More to Harvey, Rome, 8 January 1785, 'Including a handsome frame'.
64. Fully listed in Appendix A.
65. Conversations of James Northcote R.A. with James Ward on Art and Artists, edited by E.Fletcher (London, 1901), pp.163-4.
66. Whitley, I, 374.
67. Whitley, II, Plate 4.
68. Quoted more fully p.11.
69. See p.96.
70. Herts. RO, Panshanger Papers, seven letters More to Cowper, D/EP 310/85, Rome, 30 November 1782.
71. EUL, La II 648/180, More to Harvey, Rome, 8 January 1785.
72. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.83, to Sandys, Rome, 24 June 1787.
73. EUL, La IV 26, More to Walker, Rome, 1 May 1793.
74. Ellis K.Waterhouse, Reynolds (London, 1941), p.14: in 1782 Reynolds charged 50 gns. for a head, 100 gns. for a half-length, 200 gns. for a full-length; in 1783 Gainsborough charged 30, 60 and 100 gns., and Romney charged 20, 40 and 80 gns.
75. More sale, Christie, second day (lot 92), see p.309.
76. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.17 (account); the same set are also listed in the letter accompanying the goods, EUL, La II 648/181, to Harvey, Rome, 22 September 1786.

e. Colleagues and Pupils in Rome

1. The fullest study of his work is Bruno Lohse, Jakob Philipp Hackert: Leben und Anfänge seiner Kunst (Emsdetten, 1936); see also Bénézit & Thieme-Becker.
2. See p.100.
3. See pp.105-6.
4. See p.176.
5. See pp.115-6.
6. East Riding County RO, Arundell Papers (unlisted), DD EV-6-6. Information kindly communicated by Mr. Brinsley Ford.
7. Goethe, Italian Journey, p.177, 28 February 1787.
8. Goethe, Italian Journey, p.341, 16 June 1787.
9. Goethe, Winckelmann und sein Jahrhundert, p.184, 'Bäume und Vorgründe gelangen More zwar weniger als Hakkert, doch im ganzen hat er milderer, duftigeres Kolorit und im allgemeinen mehr Übereinstimmung'.
10. Thomas Jones, p.117, 2 December 1782.
11. Thomas Jones, p.118, 2 December 1782.
12. Brian Fothergill, Sir William Hamilton: Envoy Extraordinary (London, 1969). p.230.
13. Goethe, Italian Journey, pp.342-3, 20 June 1787.
14. Goethe, Italian Journey, p.177, 28 February 1787.
15. Goethe, Italian Journey, pp.310-11, 27 May 1787.
16. See p.260.
17. Stolberg, I, 388.
18. See Exh: Manning Gallery, London, Carlo Labruzzi: An Exhibition of Fine Watercolour Drawings of the Appian Way (London, 1960), and editorial, 'Carlo Labruzzi: An XVIIIth Century Rediscovery', Apollo, 71, (1960), p.196.
19. BL, Berry Papers, Add MSS 37726-37761; IV, 37729, f.75, 5 January 1784.
Biographical details and full ref. to Berry MSS in footnote 2 to p.238; Miss Berry's connections with More are discussed pp.289-90.

20. Cambridge University Library, Papers of Sir Richard Colt Hoare, Add MSS 3555, f.61.
21. See note 18.
22. See p.241.
23. e.g. Lincolnshire RO, Sir Richard Worsley, Journal of a Tour 1783-7, Worsley MSS 23, Rome, 2 February 1785, 'Went to see Carlo Bruzis, Mr Mores & Mr Days paintings'. Information kindly communicated by Mr. Brinsley Ford.
24. See p.150.
25. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.25-6, [10 November-16 December] 1786. The originals are discussed note 28 to p.280.
26. D.& F.Irwin, p.149.
27. D.& F.Irwin, pp.151-2.
28. Career described in D.& F.Irwin, pp.138-45, and in J.C.B.Cooksey, 'Alexander Nasmyth'.
29. Information kindly communicated by Janet Cooksey.
30. Byres to Yorke, Rome, 14 February 1784; untraced reference - see note 22 to section a. of this Chapter.
31. Information kindly communicated by Janet Cooksey.
32. Nasmyth, p.38.
 Plate V - Loch Tay with Kenmore Church and Bridge, oil on canvas, 87.5 x 120.5cm, signed & dated 1810, coll. W.Stewart Fotheringham, Dunkeld.

CHAPTER SIX: THE ITALIAN WATERFALL PAINTINGS

a. Background

1. The Odes of Horace, translated with an introduction by James Michie, second edition (Penguin, 1976), p.30; Odes, Book I, VII.
2. Woodbridge, p.98, quoting a letter from R.C.Hoare to his brother Hugh, 29 April 1786.
3. For details of the history and topography of Tivoli and Terni, see Rome and Environs, pp.358-362, and Northern Italy from the Alps to Rome, edited by Alta MacAdam, second edition (London, 1978), p.609.
4. Claude e.g. R^öthlisberger, cats. LV 62 (fig.131b), LV 67 (fig. 138), & LV 89 (fig.169).

Rosa e.g. Landscape with Waterfall, oil, 99 x 134cm, Glasgow Art Gallery & Museum (267).

Dughet e.g. View of Tivoli, oil, 73 x 97.5cm, Kings College, Newcastle-upon-Tyne (7), & View of Tivoli, oil, 76 x 126cm, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (343).
5. Memoirs and Correspondence of the late Sir James Edward Smith, M.D., edited by Lady Smith, 2 vols (London, 1832), II, 291-2.
6. e.g. Jan Asselijn, The Temple of the Sibyl at Tivoli, ink & pencil, 18.6 x 25.3cm (photograph Witt Library)

Paul Bril, Landscape with Waterfall, oil, 74 x 101cm, 1626, Provincial Museum, Hanover (15)
Landscape with the Temple of the Sibyl, oil on copper, 11 x 17cm, s.& d.1595 (photographs Witt Library).

Philipp Peter Roos (1657-1706), became known as Rosa da Tivoli due to his numerous decorative landscape paintings inspired by this area.
7. e.g. Paysage avec Cascade, Galerie de Peinture, Dresden; repro. in Thiéry, Plate 33.

Joos de Momper is mentioned p.161 of thesis.
8. Repro. Wilton-Ely, Plate 75.
9. Skelton's work is described in S.Rowland Pierce, 'Johnathan Skelton and his Water Colours. A Check List', Walpole Society, 36 (1956-8), 10-22; Richard Wilson produced various paintings of Tivoli and its waterfalls, e.g. W.G.Constable, Plate 117a.

10. Northall, p.385.

Thomas Jones recorded several sketching trips to Tivoli, e.g. p. 65, 13 November 1777.

Macmillan, 'Alexander Runciman', p.121; he also painted a view of The Cascatelle, Tivoli, with a distant view of Maecenas's Villa (now lost), Macmillan, p.726.

11. Exh: Rome, L'Italia vista dai pittori francesi del XVIII e XIX secolo (1961).

12. Richardson, p.290.

13. Edward Wright, Some Observations made in travelling through France, Italy, &c., in the Years MDCCXX, MDCCXXI, and MDCCXXII, second edition, 2 vols (London, 1764), II, 340.

14. [Lady Anne Riggs Miller], Letters from Italy, Describing the Manners, Customs, Antiquities, Paintings, &c. of that Country, In the Years MDCCLXX and MDCCLXXI..., 3 vols (London, 1776), III, 127.

15. Miller, III, 125.

16. Miller, III, 180.

17. Its height was noted by Sir Richard Colt Hoare (quoted in Woodbridge, p.81), and various other guidebooks.

Wilson's remark is quoted in Brinsley Ford, The Drawings of Richard Wilson (London, 1951), p.53.

18. National Museum of Wales, Cardiff, 1145.

Another version, present whereabouts unknown, formerly in the collection of Col.M.H.Grant, repro. Grant, III (1958), Plate 162, 35" x 48".

George Knapton also painted a Falls of Terni, repro.M.H. Grant, II (1958), Plate 89.

19. Tobias Smollett, Travels through France and Italy, introduced by James Morris, first published 1766 (Fontwell, 1969), p.365, letter from Nice, 2 April 1765.

20. John Owen, Travels into Different Parts of Europe, in... 1791 and 1792...Letters, originally addressed to, and revised by, W.Belsham, 2 vols (London, 1796), I, 396.

21. [J.B.M.Guidi], Lettres contenant le journal d'un voyage fait à Rome en 1773, 2 vols (Geneva & Paris, 1783), I, 186, 'La peinture qu'on faite les voyageurs n'est point exagérée'.
22. William Mason, The English Garden: A Poem. In four books. A New Edition, corrected. To which are added a Commentary and Notes, by W.Burgh, Esq: Ll.d. (York, 1783), p.4.
23. See Mrs. Piozzi's remark on Vesuvius, p.207.
24. Watkins, I, 390.

Also noted by Sir Richard Colt Hoare, quoted in Woodbridge, p.98, 'unnoticed and unfrequented, except by artists in search of improvement, or foreigners in search of novelty'.
25. F.Carrara, La Caduta del Velino nella Nera (Rome, 1779), quotes Pliny (p.5), Livy (p.6), and Cicero (p.8); it is also noted that the Falls have been represented by Hackert and Antonini.
26. Thomas Jones, p.64, 10 November 1777.
27. Piranesi's work is illustrated in Wilton-Ely, Plates 61-3.

Dance's drawing and its subsequent copies are noted by Farington, Diary, ed. Garlick & MacIntyre, III (1979), 767, 10 February 1797.
28. See note 6 of this section, and

Breughel, Imaginary Landscape with the Temple of the Sibyl at Tivoli, oil, 21cm. diameter (circular), which shows ships in a bay below the temple (photograph Witt Library)

Gainsborough, Lady and Gentleman in a Landscape, oil on canvas, 71 x 67cm, Louvre, Paris (repro. Waterhouse, Gainsborough, cat.752, Plate 17)

Hackert, Landscape, 1780, discussed pp.105-6.

The cork model is mentioned by J.E.Smith, Tour, II, 289, and by Sir William Forbes (NLS, MS 1544, 213).
29. Stoddart, I, 97, 100.

b. More's Waterfall Paintings

1. The exhibited works of Tivoli and Terni (see Appendix A) are similar in title to the paintings of many other artists, though More was one of the first to produce such large-scale versions in such large numbers. His only predecessor in scale and quantity was William Marlow, who showed paintings of these subjects at the Society of Artists 1767(96,98), 1768(97), and 1777(60,67).
2. Sold John Mitchell Gallery, 1962; British collection.
Reviewed by Adrian Bury, 'In the Galleries', Connoisseur, 151 (1962), 49-50, partly quoted p.18 of this thesis.
Exh: GLC, Iveagh Bequest, Kenwood, British Artists in Rome 1700-1800, 1974 (128).
3. W.G.Constable, p.169 & Plates 28a,29.
4. Details from K.J.Garlick, 'A Catalogue of Pictures at Althorp', Walpole Society, 45 (1974-6), p.60, cats.463,464.
Information concerning the colour of the paintings kindly communicated by Mr.K.J.Garlick.
The Tivoli exh. RA, Italian Art and Britain, 1960 (171).
5. The first Earl Spencer (1734-1783) was a member of the leading intellectual circles of his day, numbering Reynolds, Garrick and Sir William Hamilton among his friends; his son George John Spencer, the second Earl (1758-1834) amassed a vast collection of paintings and a large library (DNB, and Althorp guidebook).
6. HMC 10410, Spencer, Miscellaneous Papers; the letter is not available for consultation, and the information on its contents is taken from D.Irwin, 'Jacob More', p.777, note 14.
The letter to Harvey, now lost, is recorded in RA, Anderdon MSS, grangerised sale catalogue, Sotheby, 12 July 1863 (lot 68), Rome, 30 January 1786.
7. [Thomas Martyn], The Gentleman's Guide in his Tour through Italy... (London, 1787), p.125.
8. Sir James Edward Smith, A Sketch of a Tour on the Continent in the years 1786 and 1787, 3 vols (London, 1793), II, 303.
9. Mariana Starke, Letters from Italy between the years 1792 and 1798..., second edition, 2 vols (London, 1815), II, 64.
10. Repro.MMGrant, III (1958), Plate 206; sold Christie, 7 July 1967 (lot 146)

11. Catalogo sommario della Galleria Doria Pamphilj in Roma (Rome, 1969), cat.8/377, Paesaggio con cascata (Photograph Gab.Naz.).
12. Catalogo...Doria Pamphilj, cat.9/378, same title and size.
13. He probably borrowed the design of a Claude in the collection (see p.117).
14. Pembroke Papers; quoted fully p.97.
15. Canova, p.138; two of a group noted in full p.106 of thesis, with translation footnote 11.
16. From Laing Bequest.
17. From Laing Bequest. Creased along centre and faded; watermark 'J.Honig & Zoonen'.
NGS, Catalogue of Scottish Drawings (Edinburgh, 1960), notes that this drawing is signed and dated 'Jacob More, Rome, 1785', though no such inscription can now be found.
Exh: Aberdeen, Romantic Art, 1971 (68).
18. Described by Cadell, I, 454 (see footnote 39 of this section).
19. e.g. Labruzzi, Neptune's Grotto at Tivoli, exh: Rome, Il Settecento a Roma, 1959 (330), and J.Paine, 'Study at Tivoli - Neptune's Grotto, Cascatelle 1773' in sketchbook, V&A, P&D 93-E-26.
See also the painting attributed to More, discussed p.81, repro. NGS, The Discovery of Scotland, cat.6.16, fig.64.
20. Thomas Jones, p.116, 2 November 1782.
21. Purchased 1976 from Martyn Gregory; Honig (beehive) watermark.
22. See pp.97-8, and Plates 64, 66 & 67.
23. The companion is discussed p.138.
24. Yale B.1977.14.146, ink & watercolour over pencil, 52 x 72.6cm.
25. V&A, MSS Eng-JJ-Box II, More to McGowan, Rome, 23 December 1786.
26. McGowan sale, Philippe, London, 26 January 1804 (Framed & glazed drawings, lot 71).
27. EUL, La IV 26, Rome, 1 May 1793. The pastel medium is discussed pp.173-4.

28. John Crome sale, Athow, Norwich, 25 September - 1 October 1821, 4th. day (Prints, Framed & Glazed, lot 103).
29. Seguier, p.131: the first sold for £18-18-0; the second pair, from the collection of Robert Thistlethwaite, sold for £5-5-0 each.
30. Charles Galli sale, Edinburgh, 19 & 21 December 1835, 2nd. day (lot 136), and sale at Tait's, Edinburgh, 24 February 1844 (lot 8), companion to View near Rome (lot 9).
31. e.g. The Falls of Tivoli, c.1775, ink & watercolour over pencil, 35.9 x 64.1cm, Whitworth Art Gallery, MW1 - 1465.
32. Several sketches are still in the collection of Sir Francis Beaumont Bt.
33. e.g. Falls of Tivoli, watercolour and gouache, 47.8 x 36.2cm, s.& d.1770, Leeds City Art Gallery, 13.126/53.
34. e.g. The Falls of Tivoli and The Falls of Terni, 96.5 x 78.8cm, both s.& d.1779 (photographs in Witt Library).
35. Several are reproduced by Woodbridge.
36. e.g. Terni Falls (Umbria), (?oil), 135 x 97.5cm, Leger Galleries, 1960 (photograph Witt Library).
37. e.g. The Falls of Tivoli, watercolour, 49.4 x 39.9cm, private coll. (photograph Witt Library).
38. Hester Lynch Piozzi, Observations and Reflections Made in the Course of a Journey Through France, Italy, and Germany, edited by Herbert A Barrows, first published 1789 (Ann Arbor, 1967), p.200.
39. Quotation from William A Cadell, A Journey in Carniola, Italy and France, in the years 1817, 1818..., 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1820), I, 454.

The new path is shown on an engraving by Barboni, La grotta di Nettuno con la strada napoleonica del Generale Miollis (1816).
40. Piozzi, p.201.
41. J.E.Smith, Tour, II, 289.
42. Joseph Forsyth, Remarks on Antiquities, Arts, and Letters during an Excursion in Italy, in the years 1802 and 1803, third edition (Geneva, 1824), p.344.

43. NLS, Sir William Forbes, Continental Tour, VI, MS 1544, ff.192-3, 1 May 1793.

44. e.g. Andrew Wilson, View of Tivoli, oil on canvas, 28.6 x 43.8cm, c.1834, NGS, 326.

J.M.W. Turner, repros. in Gerald Wilkinson, Turner Sketches 1789-1820 (London, 1977) pp.150, 152-3.

Robert
Freebairn, ^{note 21 to} see p.81 of thesis.

Various prints were made by Paine, Stanfield and other nineteenth-century artists and engravers. Many of these are in the collection of drawings and engravings given to the Villa d'Este, Tivoli, from the collection of Baron Basile Lemmerman; the collection contains no works by More (checked 1980). They are discussed in Claudia R. Taschetta, Tivoli e le sue rovine (Rome, 1972).

45. See Sir John Soane's Museum, A Short Account of the Evolution and Design of the Tivoli Corner of the Bank of England, designed by Sir John Soane, R.A., in 1804-5 (Oxford, 1936)

CHAPTER SEVEN: THE VOLCANO PAINTINGS

a. Background

1. For a detailed analysis of these ideas, see the 1958 (London) edition, edited with an introduction by J.T.Boulton.
2. Thomson, Works, p.320.
3. J.R.Cozens, e.g. From the Myrtle Plantation at Sir William Hamilton's Villa at Portici (photograph Witt Library).
4. See p.88.
5. Drury Lane Calendar 1747-1776, compiled from the playbills and edited, with an introduction, by Dougald Macmillan (Oxford, 1938), p.30, quoting from the Public Advertiser, 28 December 1771. Carver is also mentioned pp.87-8 of this thesis.

De Louthembourg's oil painting of David Garrick as Don Juan (V&A, Dyce Bequest, D.70) also shows Vesuvius, with the Bay of Naples by moonlight. It was possibly exhibited in 1771 (information from V&A).
6. There had been firework displays much earlier: see the instructions for displays in John Babington, Pyrotechnia or, A Discourse of Artificiall Fire-works (London, 1635), which included fiery dragons, ships, etc.

Piozzi, p.224, 'the men most famous at London and Paris for performing tricks with fire have always been Italians in my time, and commonly Neapolitans'.
7. J.N.Servandoni (1695-1766), pupil of Panini, who later became an architect (Bénézit).
8. Andrea Casali (c.1700-1784), pupil of Conca, who worked in Britain c.1740-c.1760 (Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani).
9. Sandby, e.g. Windsor Castle from Datchet Lane on a Rejoicing Night, gouache highlighted with gold, 30.7 x 45.7cm, s.& d. 1768, Windsor coll.14584; repro. A.P.Oppé, The Drawings of Paul and Thomas Sandby in the collection of His Majesty the King at Windsor Castle (Oxford & London, 1947), cat.60, Plate 38.
10. Letters of Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford, to Sir Horace Mann, 4 vols (London, 1943), II, 102, letter CLIX, London, 5 June 1770.

11. See Armando Schiavo, 'L'illuminazione esterna di S.Pietro e Luigi Vanvitelli', Studi Romani, 23 (1975), 486-491.
12. John Fleming, Robert Adam and his Circle in Edinburgh & Rome, (London, 1962), p.177.
13. J.E.Smith, Tour, II, 277.
14. Information from V&A (from I Quaderni).
15. ...In a Letter (Originally in German) to Count Bruhl, of Saxony, From the Celebrated Abbé Winckelmann (London, 1771).
16. Hamilton's career is described in Fothergill, Sir William Hamilton; the Royal Family and court life are described in Harold Acton, The Bourbons of Naples (1734-1825), (London, 1956).
17. Campi Phlegraei. Observations on the Volcanoes of the Two Sicilies as they have been communicated to the Royal Society by Sir William Hamilton K.B.F.R.S. (Naples, 1776).
18. Hamilton, p.5.
 Fabris's illustrations were considerably fuller and livelier than earlier depictions, such as those in Descrizione delle ultimi eruzioni del Monte Vesuvio da 25 marzo 1766 fin a 10 decembre dell'anno medesimo (Naples, 1767).
 Other well-illustrated books followed Hamilton's, e.g. D.Gaetano de Bottis, Istoria de vari incendi del Monte Vesuvio (Naples, 1786).
19. Hamilton, p.16.
20. Hamilton, p.17.
21. Wyck, oil on canvas, 58 x 48cm, (n.d.), coll. R.Causa, repro. Benedict Nicolson, Joseph Wright of Derby: Painter of Light, 2 vols (London, 1968), I, fig.96.
22. Published Amsterdam, 1704, Vesuvie - Eruption de 1631.
23. Both listed in Graves, SA. Smith also showed an Eruption of Mount Vesuvius at Naples at the RA in 1772. Mercati may have been the man of the same name known to Thomas Jones in London; Jones went to 'the fencing school of one Mercati, a Neapolitan' (p.11, 1766).
24. Wilkins exhibited at the Free Society, Wright and Marlow at The Society of Artists (Graves, SA).

25. Thomas Jones, p.12, 1767.

26. Quoted under Dean in Graves, SA.

27. Garrick sale, Christie, 3 June 1823.

See also Edward Orme's An Essay on Transparent Prints and on Transparencies in general (London, 1807), dedicated to Queen Charlotte and the Princesses, and Catalogue for 1809, which includes transparent prints of Vesuvius and Etna.

28. e.g. The Italian Coast, Vesuvius in the Distance, 1780, repro. Nicolson, I, fig. 100.

29. Details of career in Bénézit. There are various other examples in British collections, such as The Eruption of Vesuvius, Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool (6130), Eruption of Vesuvius, repro. Nicolson, I, fig.97.

Hamilton is not recorded as having owned any works by More, but he had at least one Voltaire, Vesuvius Erupting by Night 1779; his collection was recorded in an inventory made by James Clark (see pp.85-6 of thesis) in 1798, now in Cambridge University Library, Perceval MSS, no.27; listed in case 11, no.7.

30. Burke, p.40, in section 'Of the SUBLIME'.

31. Piozzi, pp.223-4.

32. Piozzi, p.222.

33. Rev. Brian Hill, Observations and Remarks in a Journey through Sicily and Calabria in the year 1791 (London, 1792), p.149.

34. Count Carlo Castone Gaetano della Torre di Rezzonico, Viaggio in Inghilterra, edited by P.Gamba (Venice, 1824), p.48, 'i ruscelli di liquido ferro tutto rovente sembravano lave del Vesuvio'.

35. De Loutherbourg, Coalbrookdale at Night, oil on canvas, 68 x 106.7cm, s.& d.1801, Science Museum, London.

36. e.g. Vesuvius from Posillipo, oil on canvas, 102.8 x 128.2cm, repro. Nicolson, I, cat.267, fig.99, and II, Plate 291.

37. e.g. Nicolson, II, Plates 164, 165, both Vesuvius, 1774, pencil drawings.

38. Nicolson, II, Plate 163 (in colour).

39. Nicolson, I, 78.
40. Nicolson, I, cat.266, and II, Plate 170, 124.4 x 180.3cm.
41. Nicolson, I, cat.268, and II, Plate 214, 161.9 x 213.3cm,
Vesuvius with the procession of St.Janarius's Head.

b. More's Volcano Paintings

1. More's work for Lord Bristol is described in Chapter Ten.
Wright's problems over volcano commissions for Bristol are described in Nicolson, I, 17.
2. Brian Fothergill, The Mitred Earl: An Eighteenth-Century Eccentric (London, 1974), p.23.
3. Now at Ickworth: oil on canvas, 100.3 x 74.9cm, frontispiece of Fothergill, The Mitred Earl, and Plate 6 of Ford, 'The Earl-Bishop'.
4. Fothergill, The Mitred Earl, p.129.
5. RIBA, Thomas Hardwick, Journal covering two journeys Rome to Naples, 18 April-7 June 1778, and 25 September-October 1778, Drawings coll. G-K, 45: f.25, 25 September, 'set out in Company wth Henderson More, & Brettingham by Post to Naples', arriving on the 27 September. See following footnotes for Thomas Jones' references.
6. Thomas Jones, p.79, 22 & 27 September 1778.
7. Thomas Jones, p.79, 29 September & 1 October 1778.
8. Thomas Jones, pp.79-80, 1 October 1778.
9. e.g. NGS D863, Plate 49.
10. Canova, p.138, 12 June 1780; mentioned p.106 of thesis, with original Italian in footnote 11.
11. NGS 290; presented to the Edinburgh Royal Institution by Sir James Stuart of Allanbank, Bt., before 1845 (perhaps 1829).
12. S.N.Coleman, Volcanoes Old and New (London, 1944), p.176 (photograph of 1944), and p.180 (also of 1944).

13. See p.208; Nicolson, I, cat.268, and II, Plate 214.
14. The Mind of Henry Fuseli, edited by E.C.Mason (London, 1951), p.286.
15. Michael Grant, Cities of Vesuvius: Pompeii and Herculaneum (London, 1971), includes descriptions of the destruction in A.D.79.
16. F.M.Bullard, Volcanoes in History, in Theory, in Eruption (Edinburgh, 1962), p.136, shows diagrams of the volcano before and after A.D.79.
17. Quoted, with mention of another series of 1784, p.107.
18. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.42, Rome, 3 January 1787.
19. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.49, More to Bristol, 11 January 1787.
20. Cririe, pp.239-40.
21. EUL, La IV 26, More to Walker, Rome, 1 May 1793.
22. John Crome sale, Athow, Norwich, 25 September-1 October 1821, first day (lot 54), An Eruption of Mount Stremboli.
23. G.Doria and O.Ferrari, Vedute napoletane della raccolta Lemmerman (Ente provinciale per il turismo di Napoli, 1957), cat.73, Plate X, Il Vesuvio (44 x 61cm).
24. Herts RO, Panshanger Papers, Sandys to Cowper, St.Minver, Cornwall, 27 July 1780.
25. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.38, More to Messrs. Dorrin, December 1786.
26. Henry James Johnston-Lavis, Bibliography of the Geology and Eruptive Phenomena of the more important Volcanoes of Southern Italy, compiled with the assistance of Madame Antonia Johnston-Lavis, first edition 1891, second edition by Miss B.M.Stanton, edited by B.B.Woodward (London, 1918).
27. Not catalogued. Material seached 1978, University College, London.
28. See Christopher Johnstone, John Martin (London, 1974).
29. Johnstone, p.13.

30. Repro. Johnstone, p.41, oil on canvas, 76.2 x 62.4cm, s.& d.1812, Southampton Art Gallery (a smaller version of the original, now lost).
31. Johnstone, p.58, illustrates the watercolour version; p.59, discusses the oil, now badly damaged, in the Tate Gallery.
32. For details of Danby's career, see Eric Adams, Francis Danby: Varieties of Poetic Landscape (Yale, 1973), The Israelites..., repro. fig.43.

CHAPTER EIGHT: STATUS AND SUCCESS, 1773-1973

a. Personal and Professional Connections and Reputation

1. Skinner, p.35.
2. Whitley, II, 200-1. Grignon was probably a rival dealer as well as a fellow-artist; he was exporting paintings from Rome in the 1790s (Whitley, II, 224).
3. See p.32.
4. BL, Cumberland Papers VI, Add MSS 36496, f.333, Rome, 4 May 1792; he did not give any details of the composition of the 'two parties'.
5. RA, Northcote MSS, 38, Northcote to his brother Samuel, Rome, 18 November 1777, referring to May 1777.
6. RA, Northcote MSS, 38. See also an earlier letter to his brother, Rome, 24 May 1777, 'by Mr Barron who I met at Genoa I was introduced by a letter to a young painter at Rome', who found him lodgings.

This was probably Hugh Barron (1745-1791), a pupil of Reynolds (Bénézit).
7. Gwynn, p.138.
8. RA, Northcote MSS, 36.
9. NLS, Diary of John Ramsay, MS 1833, f.61, 7 April 1783 (drawing), and f.107, 2 July 1783 (guide).
10. NLS, Diary of John Ramsay, MS 1834, f.206, 1 May 1784, and f.207, 3 May 1784.
11. Herts. RO, Panshanger Papers, Rev. William Sandys to Lord Cowper, St. Minver, Cornwall, 27 July 1780.
12. NLS, Sir William Forbes, Continental Tour, MS 1544, f.183-4, 30 April 1793.
13. NLS, MS 1544, f.303, 7 May 1793.
14. Nicolson, I, 274 (list of Wright's exhibited works).
15. Nicolson, I, 4.
16. See Ford, 'The Earl-Bishop', p.427.

17. Nicolson, I, 230.
18. Nicolson, I, 230; it is not known if More ever received his copy.
19. Nicolson, I, 230.
20. EUL, La II 648/180, More to Harvey, Rome, 8 January 1785.
21. Nicolson, I, 134, note 3.
22. Nicolson, I, 134, note 3.
23. RA, Anderdon MSS, grangerised sale catalogue, Sotheby, 15 July 1786 (lot 70), More to Harvey, Rome, 15 July 1786.
24. Nicolson, I, 15-16.
25. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.76-7, More to Harvey, [19 May -20 June], 1787.
26. Full quotation p.9.
27. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.63, to Smith Barry, Rome, 19 May 1787. These paintings were perhaps the Deluge and the Eruption of Etna shown at the RA, 1788 (139,387).
28. See GLC, de Loutherbourg catalogue.
29. For details of his life and career, see Brinsley Ford, 'Thomas Jenkins: Banker, Dealer and Unofficial English Agent', Apollo, 99 (1974), 416-425.
30. See p.306.
31. See Ford, 'James Byres'.
32. Ford, 'Thomas Jenkins', p.418.
33. Ford, 'Thomas Jenkins', p.416.
34. Thomas Jones, p.94, April 1780, quoted in Ford, 'Thomas Jenkins', p.418.
35. SJ Archives, MS Letters Father John Thorpe to Lord Arundell, Rome, 3 June 1775.
Jenkins's villa is described in Goethe, Italian Journey, p.405, quoted by Ford, 'Thomas Jenkins', p.420.
36. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.79, to Bristol, [19 May-20 June], 1787.

37. See pp.96-7, & p.10.
38. Most of the extant correspondence concerns artistic matters and is thus dealt with in other relevant parts of the thesis, and Appendix A.
39. See p.20.
40. See p.21.
41. A Flower piece; in needlework (89), listed in Graves, RA.
42. Goldfinches; in tambour work (404), shown in 1772
An indian Rose (329), shown in 1777
A Loury, from Pekin (330) "
A Louryquette, from Pekin (331) "
43. Graves, RA, lists various artists living in Poland Street during this period, including p.151, Joseph Slater at 'Mr Moore's' in 1774 - this could have been More's nephew, discussed p.306.
44. V&A, MSS Eng-86-JJ-Box II, More to McGowan, Rome, 23 December 1786; letter quoted more fully p.196.
45. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.31, to John McGowan, [10-16] December 1786.
46. Thomas Constable, Archibald Constable and his Literary Correspondents. A Memorial (by his son Thomas Constable), 3 vols (Edinburgh, 1873), I, 121-123n.
Allan Ramsay, The Gentle Shepherd, II, 447 - items in the Newhall collection 'bought from his sister'.
The Edinburgh Directories for this period list various persons by the name of Miss More and Mrs. Simpson; see Thomas Aitchinson, The Edinburgh Directory, from July 1797 to July 1798... (Edinburgh, 1797).
47. Gough, II, 638.
48. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.67, n.d.
49. Farington, Diary, ed. Greig, VI (1926), 144, 10 September 1810, quoting the Rev. Sampson Sandys.
50. Farington, Diary, ed. Garlick & MacIntyre, II (1978), 433, 9 December 1795, probably quoting Flaxman.

51. Farington, Diary, ed. Garlick & MacIntyre, II (1978), 437, 12 December 1795.
52. Alistair Rowan, in his history of the Homes of Wedderburn in an article 'Wedderburn Castle, Berwickshire', Country Life, 156 (1974), 354-357, (357), suggests that the man with whom the young Mrs. Jane Home had an affair was Jacob More, as several of the extant family documents refer to a 'Mr. Moore'. Further research into the family correspondence suggests that he was in fact Dr. John Moore (1729-1802), author of Travels in Italy (1781), who toured the continent 1772-7 with Douglas, Duke of Hamilton. In a letter to a relative, the girl's husband Patrick Home wrote (before the affair was discovered), 'Your friend and acquaintance Moore has been here for a great part of ye Winter w. Duke Hamilton and lived very much w. Mrs. Home Home and I'. (SRO, Home of Wedderburn Papers, GD 267 33/5). See DNB for details of the life and career of Dr. John Moore.

b. The Roman Academician, 1781

1. Livio Iannatoni, Roma e gli Inglesi (Rome, 1945), p.145.
2. General accounts of the history of the Accademia can be found in Melchior Missirini, Memorie per servire alla storia della romana accademia di S.Luca fino alla morte di Antonio Canova (Rome, 1823), and L'Accademia di San Luca (Rome, 1974).
3. Accademia di San Luca, Archive: Libri dei decreti (hereafter S.Luca, Decreti); dates cited are of either proposal or acceptance, most artists being mentioned on the day of acceptance only:
 - Piranesi - 1 March 1761
 - Penna - 18 December 1768
 - Pacetti - 2 April 1775
4. S.Luca, Decreti:
 - Hamilton - 11 January 1761
 - Jenkins - " " "
 - Strange - 4 September 1763
 - Volaire - 5 August 1764
 - Kauffmann - 5 May 1765
 - Brompton - 5 January 1766
 - Maron - 6 April 1766
 - Byres - 18 December 1768

5. S.Luca, Decreti: these matters discussed 11 June 1769, 9 July 1769, 6 August 1769, 1 October 1769, 12 December 1769, 3 February 1771.
6. S.Luca, Decreti, 1 May 1769, 3 March 1771, 2 April 1771, 8 October 1775, 4 February 1776.
7. S.Luca, Decreti, 2 February 1772, 'fù risoluto che qualunque forestiero che desiderè essere Accademico non si debba ammettere se non provi essere Accademico della principale Accademia della sua nazione...[to avoid situations] ... pregiudizio del decoro dell'Accademia'.
8. S.Luca, Decreti, 2 May 1773.
9. S.Luca, Decreti, 3 September 1775, 'rimediare all'abuso'.
10. S.Luca, Decreti: British Academicians from this date -

Peter Edwards(merito)	- 3 May 1778
Jacob More (merito)	- 6 May (proposed) & 10 June (accepted) 1781
Richard Worsley(honore)	- 2 September 1787
Guy Head (merito)	- 16 December 1792.
11. See pp.85,89.
12. S.Luca, Decreti,
 'Il Sig^{re} Giacomo More hà esposto alla vista degli Sig^{ri} Accademici un suo quadro rappresentante un vago Paese, e come d'igià si è parlato altre volte nella Congregazione dell di Lui merito, ed avendo Egli, come Inglese non catolico, esibito alla Congregazione per mano dell Sig^e Gio: Batta Ponfreni nostro Acad^{co} Colleghe, un ampla dispensa, fattagli da S.Santita...'
13. S.Luca, Decreti,
 'si fece correre il bussolo, ed avvertiti gli Sig^{ri} Accademici, che la palla negra, era inclusiva, furono trovato, all'apertura de essa tutte le palle negre, onde resto riconosciuto per Accad^{co} di merito, e dovrà nella futuro Congregazione prendere il suo possesso'.
14. S.Luca, Decreti, e.g. Giuseppe Cades, who was proposed 5 October 1783, and rejected in a ballot on 16 November 1783; he was later admitted on 8 January 1786, with a vote of 16 to 8.
15. Listed Dono 572. More's painting might be that registered No.66 in the present inventory of the Accademia, described as an anonymous landscape of the eighteenth century. It could not be found when the collection was checked and rearranged in 1966 (information from the Archivist of the Accademia).

16. Details of career of Tomasso Righi (1727-1802) in Bénézit, and in Giovanni Incisa della Rochetta, 'Il Salone d'Oro del Palazzo Chigi', Bolletino d'Arte, 26-7 (1926-7), 369-377.
17. Also known as Ponfreni, Ponfredi, and Bonfreni; details in Bénézit. His Self-Portrait hangs in the Accademia.
18. Antonio Asprucci (1723-1808); career details in Dizionario Biografico.
Asprucci and his son Mario are discussed in Chapter Nine.
19. Pacetti is mentioned in connection with More in various parts of the thesis, particularly pp.252-3 (working in the Villa Borghese), and p.307 (carving Jacob More's tombstone).
20. See p.241 (work in Villa Borghese); details of career in Dizionario Biografico and Bénézit.
21. Maron, a Viennese, became Director of the Accademia in 1784; details of career in Bénézit.
22. Details of career in Bénézit; his father's connection with Hamilton is mentioned in D.& F.Irwin, p.49.
23. William Smellie, 'An Historical Account of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland', Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, I (Edinburgh, 1792), i - xxxiii; artists associated listed pp.xxxi - xxxii.
24. Brydall, p.158.

c. The Uffizi Self-Portrait, 1783

1. See Ulrich Middeldorf, Ugo Procacci, and Wolfram Prinz, Die Sammlung der Selbstbildnisse in den Uffizien, 3 vols, Vol. I (Berlin, 1971), Geschichte der Sammlung (Vols.II & III will deal with Italian Self-Portraits, and foreign Self-Portraits).
Vol. I reviewed by Detlef Heikamp, Burlington, 114 (1972), 98, 101; a brief history of the collection is given p.98.
2. Sir Joshua Reynolds, Self-Portrait, oil on canvas, 71.5 x 58cm, s.& d.1775, with Latin inscription of honours received on reverse, Uffizi 1890-1932; exh: Florence, Firenze e L'Inghilterra: rapporti artistici e culturali dal XVI al XX secolo, 1971 (63).

2. (cont.) James Northcote, Self-Portrait, oil on canvas, 76.5 x 60cm, s.& d.1778, Uffizi 1890-1929; exh: Florence, Firenze e L'Inghilterra (61). A second Self-Portrait was donated a year later, when Northcote became a member of the Imperiale Accademia di Firenze (Uffizi 1890-2079).
3. Uffizi 1890-2103; exh: Florence, Firenze e L'Inghilterra (60), and GLC, British Artists in Rome (96).
4. Neale, VI(1823), 'A Portrait of Moore - By himself' (np).
Much of the contents of Downhill were destroyed in the fire of 1851.
5. The documents were unavailable when research for this thesis was undertaken; transcripts were provided at a later date by Hugh Belsey. All the documents are catalogued Filza XVII/17.
6. 'Il desiderio che sempre ho nutrito di poter collocare il mio proprio ritratto nella raccolta de Pittore della R.Galleria di Toscana si é in me rinnovato nell'occasione di esser venuto in questa Dominante per portare due Quadri a S: A: My Lord Cowper, che tempo fa si degno ordinarmi, a tale oggette unitamente ai d: due Quadri ne ho portato un Altro esrimente il mio ritratto di figure intiera in un camp di paese (genere il mio particolare di pittura'.
7. 'Giacomo More Inglese Pittor Paesista famosa...hà portato ancora il proprio ritratto...egli merito di esser conspiacuto perché già è nota la sua Singolare abilità, ed il quadro che offerisce e Stato Lodato per l'invenzione e da l'effetto da tutti quelli che la hanno veduto'.
Part of this document is quoted in Firenze e L'Inghilterra, where the author is stated to be Pelli.
8. Signed 'V.Antonio Scuiscori', and endorsed by 'Alessandro Pontenani'.
9. From Pelli, 'Ho il piacere di renderse intensa che S.A.R. mio Signore sià accattato il suo dal Ritrato...'
10. From Rome, 9 June 1784.
11. Herts RO, Panshanger Papers, More to Cowper, Rome, 5 June 1784.
12. See Chapter Six, particularly pp.194-5.
13. e.g. Arthur Devis, Portrait of the Artist, sketching in the grounds of his house at Albury, oil on canvas, 59.5 x 49.4cm, Vere sale, Christie, 21 December 1928 (photograph Witt Library).

14. J.E.Smith, Tour, I, 288-9.
15. RA, Northcote MSS, 44, Northcote to his brother Samuel, Rome, 11 September 1778.
16. RA, Northcote MSS, 44.
17. Noted by Ford, 'The Earl-Bishop', p.430.
18. Watkins, I, 302.
19. Watkins, I, 302.
20. Dallaway, p.130.
21. Hugh William Williams, Travels in Italy, Greece, and the Ionian Islands, in a series of letters, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1820), I, 112, 113.
22. SNPG, SP-IV-105-1; repro. ^KSinner, Plate XI. Inscription partly quoted p.20 ^Kof thesis.
23. Freeman O'Donoghue, Catalogue of Engraved British Portraits preserved in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum, 6 vols (London, 1908-25), III (1912), 272.
Carlo Lasinio (1759-1838) was a painter and engraver who worked chiefly in Florence and Pisa.
24. NGS, 2126, purchased 1950.
25. e.g. William Tischbein, Self-Portrait, oil on wood, 50 x 37.5cm, Weimar Schlossmuseum, repro. in Goethe, Italian Journey, Plate 10.
26. Gywnn, p.138, and RA, Northcote MSS, 38, Northcote to his brother Samuel, Rome, 18 November 1777, 'M^r Allen a Scotch man'.
27. The painting, Hector's Farewell to Andromache, is still in the collection of the Accademia. Allan was the only British artist to win the prize in the eighteenth century (D.& F.Irwin, p.115).
The prize is recorded in the Decreti, [2 April-2 May] 1773.
28. D.& F.Irwin, p.79 - Allan was particularly hostile towards John Brown when he saw him as a rival for the mastership of a new drawing school in 1785.

CHAPTER NINE: MORE'S WORK IN THE VILLA BORGHESE

Introduction and a. The 'Apollo and Daphne' Painting

1. For a general history and description of the Villa Borghese, see:
 Paola della Pergola, Villa Borghese (Rome, 1962)
 Paola della Pergola, Villa Borghese, Itinerari dei Musei, Gallerie, e monumenti d'Italia, 106 (Rome, 1964)
 P. Angeli, R. Armando, and B. Tripoli, 'Villa Borghese: storia ed immagini', Capitoleum, 43 (1968), 37-70.
2. Miss Mary Berry (1763-1852), authoress and confidante of Horace Walpole.
 BL, Berry Papers, Add MSS 37726-61: IV, Add MSS 37729, f.72, 2 January 1784.
 Part of the material quoted in this chapter is published in Extracts of the Journals and Correspondence of Miss Berry from the year 1783 to 1852, edited by Lady Theresa Lewis, 2 vols (London, 1865).
3. Watkins, II, 93.
4. For Hamilton's work see Serena Q. Hutton's forthcoming thesis on Gavin Hamilton (University of Edinburgh).
 Antonio Asprucci (1723-1808), the curator of the Borghese Gallery in the 1780s and 1790s, signed all of the recorded payments to artists and gardeners during this period. See Dizionario Biografico for details of career.
 Mario Asprucci (1764-1804), son of Antonio, worked on several architectural projects in the Borghese Gardens. In 1786 he won a prize at the Accademia di San Luca; his later years were spent painting. Details of career in Dizionario Biografico.
 Christoph Unterberger (1732-1798), a Viennese, worked on many decorative schemes in Rome, including the Vatican Library (Bénézit).
5. Richardson, p.134.
6. BL, Berry Papers IV, Add MSS 37729, f.73, 2 January 1784.
 See also Stolberg, I, 412-3, who noted a room full of landscapes by Hackert.
7. RA, Anderdon MSS, grangerised sale catalogue, Sotheby, 12 February 1863 (lot 66), More to Harvey, Rome, 20 March 1785.

8. RA, Anderdon MSS, 6/48 (i), More to Harvey, Rome, 22 August 1785.
9. Rutland Papers, p.237, Byres to the Bishop of Killala, 24 August 1785.
10. Vatican, Archivio Segreto, Casa Borghese, Filza dei Mandati (hereafter Vatican AS, Borghese, Mandati), MS 5849, f.123, 'A Monsieur More Pittore Paesista devono pagarsi Scudi TreCento mta per prezzo concordato e stabilitò della Pittura a oglio da esso fatta nella Stanza dei Dafne e Apollo nel Palazzo di Villa Pinciana in un Quadro situato trà le Fenestre verso la Piazza di dietro della stesso Palazzo'.
11. BA Rome, Pacetti, MS 321, 16 August 1788, 'sono andate a Villa Pinciana con l'Ab. Visconti, Asprucci, e More'. Pacetti makes frequent references throughout 1789 to his work with Visconti on the catalogue of the collection (see footnote 27 of this section).

For details of Pacetti's life and work, see Hugh Honour, 'Vincenzo Pacetti', Connoisseur, 146 (1960), 174-181, and Hugh Honour, 'The Rome of Vincenzo Pacetti: Leaves from a Sculptor's Diary', Apollo, 78 (1963), 368-376. Some of the material used in this thesis is included in the two articles, though the sculptor's connections with More and the Giardino Inglese are not investigated in any depth.
12. 'Account of Gavin Hamilton, Painter', Scots Magazine (1793), p.638; repeated by Redgrave, p.296, Brydall, p.160, Mallalieu, p.182; NGS, Catalogue of Scottish Drawings (1960), p.141 'redecorated a room...with landscape panels'.
13. Watkins, I, 356.
14. More also received rings from the Pope and the Senator of Rome - see p.309.
15. Walker, p.33.
16. e.g. Bénézit, 'Metamorphosé de Daphné' and 'Vallée de Tempe', perhaps a misreading of A.Nibby, Monumenti scelti della Villa Borghese (Rome, 1832), p.82, where the paintings of More and Labruzzi are described repectively 'il primo rappresentò la famosa valle de Tempe colla metamorfosi de Dafne, l'altro esprime Apollo e Dafne in mezzo a deliziosa campagna'.

17. Giovanni Battista Marchetti (1730-1800); details in Thieme-Becker.
Pietro Angeletti (active c.1758-1786); details in Dizionario Biografico. He was paid for work in this room 28 February 1780; he also executed another ceiling of the Villa depicting the Reconciliation of Venus and Minerva.
18. Vatican AS, Borghese, Mandati, MS 5848, payments are recorded to Masimiliano Labourer on 10 February 1784 (f.22), 16 August 1784 (f.119), 17 December 1784 (f.181), and the following year, MS 5849, on 1 September 1785 (f.108).
Labourer's work is mentioned by Honour, 'Vincenzo Pacetti', p.175.
19. Domenico de Angelis; details in Thieme-Becker.
Vatican AS, Borghese, Mandati, MS 5849, f.46, records a payment to him on 22 April 1785. He also worked on other ceilings in the Villa.
20. BA Rome, Pacetti, MS 321, 5 July 1785, Asprucci ordered Pacetti to provide a 'suplemento' of the 'terazzo' of the statue.
Vatican SA, Borghese, Mandati, MS 5849, f.97, 2 August 1785, Lorenzo Cardelli, a marble sculptor, was paid for the 'Piedestallo del Gruppo di Dafne e Apollo'.
21. Vatican AS, Borghese, Mandati, MS 5850, f.119, before 16 December 1786, 'un Quadro da esso dipinto a olio e posto in opera nella Stanza dei Dafne, e Apollo'.
A.Nibby, Roma nell'anno 1838, 4 vols (Rome, 1838-41), IV, 917, described the painting 'del Labruzzo in cui rappresentarse Apollo e Dafne in mezzo a deliziosa campagna'.
22. Watkins, I, 356-7.
23. No known provenance.
24. e.g. André Manazzale, Itineraire istruttif de Rome et ses environs, second edition, 2 vols (Rome, 1802), I, 198, 'un paysage de Mr. More Peintre Anglois, qui a pour sujet Apollon et Dafné'.
25. Watkins, I, 357.
26. Michael Levey, National Gallery Catalogues: the seventeenth and eighteenth century Italian schools (London, 1971), cats. 6284-6291.
6285, The Judgement of Midas, fresco, 267 x 224cm (pp.97-8)
6287, Apollo pursuing Daphne, fresco, 311.8 x 189.2cm.
(pp.98-9).

27. E.Q.Visconti, Scultura del Palazzo della Villa Borghese detta Pinciana, 2 vols (Rome, 1796), II, 2.
28. Nibby, Monumenti scelti della Villa Borghese, p.82
 Nibby, Roma nell'anno 1838, IV, 917
 X.Barbier de Montault, Les Musées et Galeries de Rome (Rome, 1870), p.493
 [Anon.], The Star Guide-book to Rome, second edition (Rome, 1890), p.371.
29. Many of the landscape paintings had been removed from the Gallery earlier; a MS list of those sent to Turin in 1809 is now in the Archive of the Galleria Borghese, MS AI/39 - see p.160 & note 14.
30. Lionello Venturi, Il Museo e la Villa Borghese (Rome, 1893)
 A.J.C.Hare, Walks in Rome, first published 1871, 2 vols (London, 1893), II, 266, mentions Hamilton and 'David Moore'.
 A.Nibby and F.Porena, Guida di Roma, third edition (Turin, 1894), p.211.
31. Ludovico Cigoli (1559-1613), Joseph and Potiphar's Wife
 Giovanni Baglione (1571-1644), Judith and Holofernes

b. The Creation of the 'Giardino Inglese'

1. Some of the material in this section is included in Patricia R.Andrew, 'The Giardino Inglese in the Villa Borghese, Rome', forthcoming edition of Country Life.

The term 'Gardens' refers to both the cultivated and uncultivated areas of the grounds; the term 'Villa' applies to both the Gallery building (formerly known as the Casino), and to the grounds.

Few of the prints discussed in this section are available in Britain; most of them have been found in the Prints and Drawings collection in the Castello Sforzesco, Milan. Many are listed in P.Arrigoni and A.Bertarelli, Piante e Vedute di Roma e del Lazio conservate nella raccolta delle stampe e disegni del Castello Sforzesco, Milano (Milan, 1939).

2. Wright, II, 340.

3. A.C.Dies, C.Reinhart, and J.Mechau, Vues Pittoresques de l'Italie (Nuremberg, 1798), Plate 13, Muro Torto, preso in Villa Borghese, inscribed 'A.C.Dies f. Romae 1792'.

4. The Diary of John Evelyn, edited by William Bray, first published 1818, 2 vols (London, 1966), I, 117, 17 November 1644 (for quotation), and I, 176 [11 April-4 May] 1645 (description).

See also The Complete Letters of Lady Montague, edited by R.Habband, 3 vols (Oxford, 1965), II, 208, 22 October 1740.

A detailed description of all the parts of the garden is given in an early guide book, D.Montelatici, Villa Borghese fuori di Porta Pinciana: con l'ornamenti, che si osservano nel di lei Palazzo (Rome, 1700).

5. John Moore, II, 127.

See also the Flaxmans' references in the 1780s and 1790s: BL, Flaxman Papers, VIII, Add MSS 39787, f.83 (John Flaxman) 'The Public Walk is the Park of the Villa Borghese'; BL, Flaxman Papers, XIII, Add MSS 39792, Mrs. Flaxman makes frequent references in her Diary to walking in the Villa.

6. Leone Vicchi, Villa Borghese nella storia e nella tradizione del popolo Romano (Rome, 1886), p.316, quoting Silvagni, 'convegno di artisti, letterati, cardinali e dame'.

7. Vicchi, p.315, quotes a poem describing a party, composed by V.Monti in 1779.

Games and dancing in the gardens are illustrated by Abraham Louis Ducros and Giovanni Volpato, View of the Front of the Villa Borghese, watercolour, 56.5 x 78.7cm, 1785, repro. Ford, 'William Constable: an Enlightened Yorkshire Patron', Apollo, 99 (1974), 408-415, fig.9.

Archenholz, II, 88, attributed Prince Borghese's generosity to political necessity, to quieten 'the murmurs of the people, who hate him with all their heart on account of his oppressive monopolies'.

8. Miller, III, 155.

Thomas Jones, p.93, 20 & 26 March 1780, recorded a cricket match in the Villa Borghese between 'The English Cavaliers with as many of their Country men among the Artists as they could muster'.

9. e.g. Richard Wilson, Villa Borghese, black chalk with white heightening, 28.3 x 41.9cm, s.& d.1754, coll. Earl of Dartmouth, repro. Ford, The Drawings of Richard Wilson, p.51.

Carlo Labruzzi, Veduta di Villa Borghese, black chalk & bistre, 41.5 x 49.3cm, Ashby coll., Vatican, repro. Bodart, Plate LXXVI.

10. e.g. William Ashton, A New Journal of Italy (London, 1691), p.32, and Richardson, p.296.
11. Northall, p.351 (quoted), and p.355 (list of garden features).
12. Smollett, Travels through France and Italy, pp.263-4.
13. Smollett, Travels through France and Italy, pp.264-5.
14. Sir Benjamin Hobhouse, Remarks on Parts of France, Italy etc. ...in the years 1783, 1784 and 1785 (Bath, 1796), p.234, letter of 18 January 1785.

These sentiments are echoed by Lord Gardenstone, III, 112.

15. Manwaring, p.163.

Hugh Honour, Neo-Classicism (Penguin, 1968), pp.159-60, points out that it is a misleading simplification to assume that this style of gardening simply attempted to copy paintings; it attempted rather 'to recreate the literary landscape which had been sketched by Homer', sharing Claude's aims rather than copying his artistic productions.

16. Bernard Joseph Saurin, L'Anglomane, ou l'Orpheline léguée, comedie en un acte... (Paris, 1772); Saurin wrote other plays which also feature English characters in comic roles.
17. C.C.L.Hirshfield, Théorie de L'Art des Jardins, (translated from Theorie der Gardenkunst, first published 1775), 5 vols (Leipzig, 1779); a list of prints of British gardens is provided in Vol. V.
18. Mason, p.121, note A, and p.133.
19. Joseph Spence, Observations, Anecdotes and Characters of Books and Men. Collected from Conversation, edited by James M.Osborn, first pub. 1820, 2 vols (Oxford, 1966), I, 252.
20. Horace Walpole: Gardenist. An edition of The History of The Modern Taste in Gardening, edited by I.W.U.Chase (Princeton, 1943), p.32.

This view is echoed by Hirshfield, IV, 36.

21. Thomas Blaikie, Diary of a Scotch Gardener at the French Court at the End of the Eighteenth Century, edited, with an introduction, by Francis Birrell (London, 1931),
John Graeffer - see pp.258-9 of this section,
Mr. Bush is mentioned in the correspondence of Sir Joseph Banks - see The Banks Letters, edited by Warren D.Dawson (London, 1958), pp.425, 645.

22. Graf. p.344, 'quel rurale elegante erudito e filosofico'.
23. Graf, p.343.
24. Graf, p.344.

25. Pembroke Papers, p.276, 29 Septemebr 1779.

For previous publications on English Gardens abroad, see David C.Stuart, Georgian Gardens (London, 1979), pp.91-7, and Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium on the History of Landscape Architecture II: The Picturesque Garden and its Influence outside the British Isles (Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, 1974); neither of these publications deals with Italy in any depth.

Hugh Honour, 'English Gardens in Italy', Country Life, 130, (1961), 1248-50, contains the fullest account of English Gardens yet published; More's work is noted p.1248.

26. J.E.Smith, Tour, II, 246.

27. Northall, p.161.

Details of the architectural work are given in G.Briganti, Il Palazzo del Quirinale (Rome, 1962), p.62, and C.Cagianelli, 'I Giardini del Quirinale', Capitoleum, 40 (1965), 296-9.

28. Briganti, p.62, quoting Valesio, MS Diary, 17 July 1741, 'Stanza all'inglese detta in quella lingua caffeeaus'.

29. Northall, p.161.

30. Gio. Battista Falda (and others) Le Fontane di Roma..., 4 vols (Rome, c.1680), III, Le Fontane de'Palazzi e ne' Giardini di Roma, Plate 15, entitled and inscribed 'Due Fontane simili nel Giardino del Signor Prencipe Borghese fuori di Porta Pinciana/ con tazze doppie di marmo situate sotto il Palazzo fra recinti, eviali di licini adornati di Statue Architettura di Gio: Antonio Vansantio./ Gio: Francesco Venturini del'et inc./ G.Iac. Rossi le stampa in Roma alla pace con Priu'.del S.Pont'.

31. Charles Percier and Pierre F.L.Fontaine, Choix des plus célèbres maisons de plaisance de Rome et de ses environs, second edition (Paris,1824), Plate 6, entitled and inscribed 'Vue d'une fontaine jaillissant dans l'une des Salles de Verdure des Jardins de la Villa Borghese/ Dessiné par Percier et Fontaine/ Gravé à l'Eau-forte par Pillement/ Terminé par Duparc'.

32. Dies, Reinhart & Mechau, Plate 11, In Villa Borghese, inscribed 'J.Reinhart, Roma, 1794'.

Constable, Cenotaph to the Memory of Sir Joshua Reynolds, erected in the grounds of Coleorton Hall, Leicester, by the late Sir George Beaumont, Bart., oil on canvas, 1.32 x 1.09 cm, exhibited 1836, Tate Gallery, 1272.

Stolberg, I, 351, in a letter of 7 January 1792, commented on the informality and richness of foliage in comparison with other gardens.

33. e.g. Dallaway, pp.130-1, Mallalieu, p.182; Percier & Fontaine, p.18, attribute to 'M.Moore, peintre anglais' the areas shown in Plates 21(the general plan of the Villa), 22(a plan of the Gallery and surrounding area), 23(a view of the Gallery and immediate surroundings), 24(as 23, from a different angle), 25(the entrance to the 'specialised' garden), 26(the oval fountain, repro. in thesis Plate 80).
34. Vatican AS, Borghese, MS 5384, Catalogue of the Villa Borghese made by Prof. Faldi (1792), 'esperto di giardini, l'inglese Jacopo Moore'.

See also della Pergola, Villa Borghese (1962), p.24, and della Pergola, Villa Borghese (1964), p.12.

35. Errors have occurred in the repetition of material, e.g. Giorgina Masson, Italian Gardens (London, 1961), p.155, and The Companion Guide to Rome (London, 1965), p.231, where the work is dated 1773, the probable year of More's arrival in Rome.

Two articles published in recent years on the garden do not mention More at all:

Livio Iannatoni, 'Villa Borghese e il Giardino del Lago', Capitoleum, 32 (1957), 17-20, and

Domenico Pertica, 'Il nuovo lago dell'E.U.R. e il vecchio laghetto di Villa Borghese', Capitoleum, 37 (1962), 21-7.

36. Gio.Battista Falda and Gio.Giacomo de Rossi, Li Giardini di Roma con le loro piante alzate e vedute in prospettiva... (Rome, ?1670), Plate 15, inscribed 'Vedute e Prospettiva del Giardino dell'Ecc:^{mo} Sig. Prencipe Borghese fuori di Porta Pinciana/ Simon Felice del. et inc./ G.Iac.Rossi le stampa'.
37. Falda & Rossi, Li Giardini di Roma, Plate 16, inscribed 'Piante del Giardino dell'Ecc:^{mo} Prencipe Borghese fuori di Porta Pinciana, 'Simon Felice delino.delin.et sculp:/ G.Iac. Rossi le stampa in Roma alle pace con Priu. del S.Pont'. The date is pencilled in on two extant versions of the print.

38. BURGHESIORUM VILLAE ROMANAE ichnografia anno 1776, included in A.Casaletti, Iconarii Universalis tentamen, seu rerum omnium imagines (Rome, 1776), and in D.Magnam, Le Ville de Rome, 4 vols (Rome, 1779), III, Plate 18.
39. Percier & Fontaine, Plate 21, inscribed 'Dessiné par Percier et Fontaine/ Gravé par Baltard'.
40. Vatican AS, Borghese, Mandati, MS 5849, f.86, 2 July 1785, payment for antique statue to stand in temple; MS 5849, f.136, 16 November 1785, payment for transporting statue to stand 'fondo un Viale' - at the end of a Walk.
41. BA Rome, Pacetti, MS 321, 21 March 1786, Pacetti transported the statue to its place in the temple, 'o fatto trasportare, e collocare la statua d'Esculapio nel nuovo Tempio'; he received payment for this 22 March 1786.
42. See note 4 to section a. of this chapter for details of the Aspruccis, father and son. The earliest account of Mario Asprucci's career as an architect is his obituary in Memorie Enciclopediche Romane sulle belle arti, antichità, etc., IV (1809), 122-4.
43. Reviewed in Memorie per le belle Arti, III (March, 1787), 57-60, 'Tempio di Esculapio nella Villa Borghese fuori di Porta Pinciana', with an engraving of the front view and ground plan facing p.57.

There is an anonymous, undated watercolour plan of the temple in the Museo Napoleonico, Rome, (?cat.504), Tempio di Esculapio al Giardino del Lago, previously attributed to Hubert Robert, which shows two columns which were not executed.

Eustace, II, 242, thought it was 'indeed graceful, but rather too narrow for its elevation, a defect increased by the statues placed upon the pediment'; this is the earliest critical appraisal of the temple that can be found.
44. The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature, compiled and edited by Sir Paul Harvey (Oxford, 1937), p.11.
45. BA Rome, Pacetti, MS 321, 3 January 1787, 'La testa del Filosofo...trovato dello scavo del Lago del Tempio di Esculapio...quale devo ristaurare'.
46. Memorie Enciclopaediche Romane, p.123, 'quindi da doversi soltanto dalla parte anteriore vedere, pure, ad opera già finita seppe ridurla da ogni lato elegante, così servendo al desiderio del Principe, che lo volle isolato nel Lago, che indi formossi'.

47. BA Rome, Pacetti, MS 321, 23 March 1788; he also recorded working on it 27 & 31 May, and finishing on 7 June 1788. He noted that he was planning the statues on 24 July 1787.
48. BA Rome, Pacetti, MS 321, 1 August 1787, Conca came to discuss the matter with him; 5 October 1787, Conca gave Pacetti the heads.

Vatican AS, Borghese, Mandati, MS 5851, f.122, 5 October 1787, payment made to Penna for the statue.
49. BA Rome, Pacetti, MS 321, 7 August 1787, 'e venuto Mr. More a nome del Ppe Borghese vedere le due macchiette'.

Pacetti records that on 7 August 1786 he was asked to provide a model of the lake as well, though More's description of his own directing of the layout (p.253 & note 51 in this section) would suggest that no formal plans had been made before work commenced. Perhaps Pacetti provided a model that was rejected in favour of More's rather more fashionable foreign style ('il Sig. Asprucci vole che gli gaccia un modello di un gran Peschina che vole fare il Ppe. Borghese avanti il Tempio').
50. Vatican AS, Borghese, Mandati, MS 5851, f.155, 19 December 1787, Giovanni Rusca, a 'Stuccatore' (plasterer) was paid for rocks in the lake and waterfall.
51. Herts RO, Panshanger Papers, More to Cowper, Rome, 8 March 1788. No record of payment to More for the garden work has been traced, though the 1810 edition of Pilkington's Dictionary states that 'these alterations were highly approved of by the prince, who liberally remunerated the artist'.
52. See note 43 of this section.
53. Memorie per le belle Arti, III, 60,
'con una certa irregolarità e bizzarria imiterà gli stagni naturali, per produrre in tal guisa un effetto più pittoresco, e piccante, introducendovisi una caduta d'acqua, e delle fontane nel lido; per il che il Sig. Principe Borghese ha voluto esaminare ancora i progetti del celebre Pittor Paesista Sig. Moore; onde colle generosità illimita del Sig. Principe, ed il buon gusto, ed il sapere dei Professori, che dirigono quest'opera, vi è ben fondata speranza di credere, che riusirà un bel complesso di arte, e di natura, degno della Villa Pinciana'.
54. Memorie per le belle Arti, III, 60, 'In una parola si ha piacere di conoscere, che l'oggetto rappresentato è fatto per opera dell'uomo, e non della natura'.

55. James Dallaway, Anecdotes of the Arts in England; or, comparative remarks on Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting (London, 1800), pp.130-1.
56. BL, Flaxman Papers VIII, Add MSS 39787, f.41.
57. Goethe, Il Tempio di Esculapio, pencil and sepia wash, 18.8 x 23cm (from a sketch book), c.1787; repro. in catalogue of exh. Venice, Bologna & Rome, Mostra dei disegni di Johann Wolfgang Goethe in Italia: studio e conservazione del patrimonio di Goethe nella repubblica democratica tedesca, 1977 (40).
58. G.Beaugéan, Tempio d'Esculapio nel Lago di Villa Borghese, c.1790, inscribed 'G.Beaugéan inc'.
- Dies, Reinhart & Mechau, Plate 12, Lago in Villa Borghese, inscribed 'A.C.Dies f.Romae 1794'.
- Hubert and Pickett, View of the Lake in the Villa Borghese near Rome, inscribed 'Hubert del. Pickett sculp. London 1799' (coloured engraving).
59. e.g. G.Vasi, Raccolta delle più belle vedute antiche, e moderne di Roma (Rome, 1803), no.201, Tempio d'Esculapio nel lago della Villa Borghese, detta Pinciana, inscribed 'G.Vasi dis.inc.'.
60. Stolberg, I, 379, writing from Rome, 11 January 1792.
61. [Anon.] La Principessa Borghese e i figli al Giardino del Lago, c.1800, oil on canvas, 96 x 134cm, coll. M.Borghese del Vivaro, Rome (photograph in Biblioteca Hertziana, Rome).
62. Le V.^{te} de Senonnes, Choix de vues pittoresques d'Italie, de Suisse, de France, e d'Espagne... (Paris, 1820), Plate 26, Temple d'Esculape, Villa Borghese, inscribed 'Senonnes del. & sculp.'.
63. e.g. Cadell, I, 433, and
[Charlotte A.Waldie, afterwards Mrs. Eaton], Rome, in the Nineteenth Century, second edition, 3 vols (Edinburgh, 1822), III, 105.
64. A map of the neatened-up Giardino Inglese is included in a plan of the Villa shown in this publication.
65. Canina, p.8, 'che volendo generalizzare gl'insegnamenti di Chambers, Whately, Brown...offrono in vede idee puerile e meschine'.

66. Canina, pp.7-8, note 4, 'Queste sono cose reali grandiose, interessante e belle, e le imitazioni di queste saronno sempre loro inferiori...trova nella nostra Italia buoni modelli senza ricorre alle cose straniere'.
67. Canina, p.9.
68. Le Prose e Poesie campestri d'Ippolito Pindemonte. Con l'aggiunto d'una Dissertazione su i Giardini Inglesi e sul merito in cio dell'Italia (Verona, 1817), p.41.
69. Count Ercole Silva, Dell'Arte dei Giardini Inglesi, 2 vols (Milan, 1801); this publication is discussed by Honour, 'English Gardens in Italy', pp.1249-50.
70. Most of the later 'English' gardens employed native gardeners; the best-documented example is that of Racconigi - see Noemi Gabrielli, Racconigi (Turin, 1972).
71. His relations with the court are noted p.204 of thesis.
72. The formal gardens are described in M.-G. de La Coste-Messelière, 'Fontaines de Caserte', L'Oeil, 184 (1970), 26-9, 67.

The follies are described in Moore, II, 301-7, and Pembroke Papers, p.230, 26 August 1779, 'a little fort... a small island upon which is built a little room, thatched, with several smaller ones round it...'.

73. See G.Van den Kemp and J.Levron, Versailles and the Trianons, translated by Ethel Whitehorn (London, 1958), pp.124-5, 224-6, 230; the Belvedere was painted with arabesques based on the designs found at Pompeii (p.228).
74. BL, Letters of Sir William Hamilton to Sir Joseph Banks, 10 January 1778 - 30 January 1803, Add MSS 34048; f.22, 20 February 1785.

Some of this material has been quoted in Fothergill, Envoy Extraordinary, pp. 205, 227-9, and The Banks Letters, pp.384-92.
75. BL, Letters to Sir Joseph Banks, Bart., P.R.S., 1765-1821, Add MSS 33977-82; II, 33978, ff.57-9, Graeffe to Banks, Naples, 23 April 1786, Graeffe describes his plans for the garden, and other matters.
76. BL, Add MSS 34048, Hamilton to Banks, f.31, Naples, 26 September 1786.
77. BL, Add MSS 34048, Hamilton to Banks, f.35, Caserta, 3 April 1787.

78. BL, Add MSS 34048, Hamilton to Banks, f.37, Naples, 29 May 1787.
79. BL, Add MSS 34048, Hamilton to Banks, ff.40-1, Naples, 30 October 1787.
80. BL, Add MSS 34048, Hamilton to Banks, f.43, Caserta, 8 January 1788.
81. J.E.Smith, Tour, II, 127-8.
On his return to Britain Sir James Smith reported to Banks on the progress of the project - BL, Letters of Sir Joseph Banks to Sir William Hamilton, Egerton MSS, 2641, f.140, London, 12 November 1787.
82. BL, Add MSS 34048, Hamilton to Banks, ff.51-2, Caserta, 2 June 1789.
83. BL, Add MSS 34048, Hamilton to Banks, f.72, Caserta, 11 June 1793.
84. BL, Add MSS 34048, Hamilton to Banks, f.86, Caserta, 31 May 1797.
85. BL, Add MSS 34048, Hamilton to Banks, f.94-6, Palermo, 13 September 1799.
86. [Nathaniel Brooke], Observations on the Manners and Customs of Italy...By a Gentleman authorised to investigate the commerce of that Country with Great Britain (Bath, 1798), p.114, letter from Capua, 20 April 1794.
87. Brooke, p.189, letter from Rome, 30 June 1794.
88. e.g. The English Garden, Caserta, tempera, 46.5 x 96.5cm, s.& d. 'Nel Giardino Inglese a Caserta Filippo Hackert dipinse 1792', coll. Palazzo Reale, Caserta, 317-314; the tones are similar to those in several of More's landscapes, with a blue-grey Vesuvius, and almost white mountains behind. Repro. catalogue of exh. Civiltà del '700 a Napoli: 1734-1799 (Naples, 1979-80), I, 188b.
Sir William Hamilton owned at least three paintings or drawings of the Garden by Hackert: Hamilton sale, Christie, 17 April 1801 (lot 49), two drawings, and Hamilton sale, Christie, 27 March 1801 (lot 32).
There is another painting (?in tempera), of the Garden, 98.8.x 136.4cm, s.& d. 'Filippo Hackert/ dipinse 1797', coll. National Trust, Attingham.
89. Dallaway, p.130.

CHAPTER TEN: LORD BRISTOL, THE EARL-BISHOP: MORE'S CHIEF PATRON

1. See-DNB

William S.Childe-Pemberton, The Earl-Bishop. The Life of Frederick Harvey, Bishop of Derry, etc., 2 vols (London, c.1924)

Fothergill, The Mitred Earl

Brinsley Ford, 'The Earl-Bishop'

The Most Hon. The Marquess of Bristol, his personal assistant Mrs.P.Brown, Lady Phyllis MacRae, and B.E.de Iongh (National Trust, Ickworth), have all kindly provided help in the course of this research.

2. Fothergill, The Mitred Earl, p.130, and Ford, 'The Earl-Bishop', p.431.
3. Thomas Jones, p.83, 29 December 1778.
4. John R.Walsh, Frederick Augustus Harvey, 1730-1803, Fourth Earl of Bristol, Bishop of Derry, 'le bien faiteur des Catholiques'(Maynooth, 1972).
5. Fothergill, The Mitred Earl, pp.31-2 (discussion with Pope), and p.91 (Catholic toleration).
6. e.g.Memorie per le belle Arti, II (1786), p.63, 'commendabile la generosità di Milord Harvey Conte di Bristol'.
7. Ford, 'The Earl-Bishop', pp.427-8 (Wright, Banks & Jones), and p.431 (Deare).
8. BA Rome, Pacetti, MS 321, 17 February 1786, Pacetti noted his hopes of making good profits out of Bristol - 'spero che farò buon negozio, di vendere molte cose'; by the 1 May 1790, however, he had become distrustful of him - 'mi prometti qualche negozio prima di partire, vedremo si dira La Verità'.
9. e.g.Fothergill, The Mitred Earl, p.27.
10. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.5, More to Bristol, 26 September 1786, 'I wrote to Your Lordship at Basele but I doubt if it arjvd before Your Lordship left...there are a few small Acct. that was neglected'.
11. See pp.152-6 (156).
12. Bristol was in Italy 1765-6, 1770-2, 1777-9, 1786, 1788, and left Britain for good in 1792 (he was in Rome in 1794).

13. Ford, 'The Earl-Bishop', p.427.
14. Thomas Jones, p.93, 23 January 1780 (quoted by Ford, 'The Earl-Bishop', p.428, & Fothergill, The Mitred Earl, p.80).
15. RIBA, Thomas Hardwick Journal, Drawings coll.G-K 45, f.1. Pembroke Papers, quoted more fully p.97.
16. See pp.103-6.
17. Quoted p.107.
18. Mentioned in account of watercolour paintings, pp.139-40.
19. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.29, to Stuart, [10 November-16 December], 1786.
20. G.Vaughn Sampson, Statistical Survey of the County of Londonderry, with observations on the means of improvement; drawn up for the consideration, and under the direction of The Dublin Society (Dublin, 1802), pp.420, 421.
21. Neale, VI (1823), np.
22. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.28, [10 November-16 December] 1786.
23. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.29, [10 November-16 December] 1786.
24. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.50, 1 February 1787.
25. Nat.Gall.of Ireland, Dublin, cat.1876. Viewed; the painting was examined in poor light in store.
26. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.6, to Bristol, Rome, 26 September 1786.
27. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.10, to Bristol, [26 September-28 October] 1786.
28. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.35, to Bristol, 17 December 1786.
29. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.61, to Bristol, 5 May 1787.
 In his visit of 1779 Bristol had asked his daughter Lady Erne to send out some poplin to be made into two suits (Fothergill, p.53)
 There was an English taylor resident at Rome, who also kept a lodging house (NLS, Diary of John Ramsay, MS 1833, f.59, 5 April 1783) and NLS, Captain Robert Scott of Rosebank, Journal of a Tour (1786-7), MSS 2893-5: MS 2895, f.13, 24 June 1787.

30. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.62, 5 May 1787.
31. Fothergill, The Mitred Earl, p.146 (20 March 1792).
32. Fothergill, The Mitred Earl, p.42.
33. Fothergill, The Mitred Earl, p.43.
34. Fothergill, The Mitred Earl, pp.64-5.
35. Fothergill, The Mitred Earl, p.120 & p.146.
36. Fothergill, The Mitred Earl, p.177. 'Polimea' is probably
- * 37. Fothergill, The Mitred Earl, p.120. Francesco Solimena, 1657-1747
38. See the publications listed note 1 of this Chapter, and
 Peter Rankin, Irish Building Ventures of the Earl Bishop of Derry (Ulster Architectural Heritage Society, 1972)
 Pamela Tudor-Craig, 'The Evolution of Ickworth', Country Life, 153 (1973), 1362-1365.
39. Rankin, p.15, and Fothergill, The Mitred Earl, p.41.
40. Rankin, p.18.
41. Rankin, p.29, and Fothergill, The Mitred Earl, p.41.
42. Rev. John Chetwode Eustace, fourth edition, 4 vols (Leghorn, 1818), II, 272-3.
43. Rankin, p.28.
44. Rankin, p.29.
45. Edward Malins and the Knight of Glin, Lost Demesnes: Irish Landscape Gardening, 1660-1845 (London, 1976), p.149 & note 47 (quoting Soane's Memoirs); not mentioned by Rankin.
46. Hugh Honour, Chinoiserie (London, 1961), pp.169-70.
47. Central Library, Sheffield, Wharnccliffe MSS (the papers of Lady Erne, daughter of Lord Bristol), letter Bristol to Lady Erne, MS 552b., 'I am now full of the Idea of Erecting a Column at Ickworth in imitation of Trajans & Antonine's at Rome, & in honor of that Greater man than either Mr. William Pitt'.
48. Rankin, pp.49-50.
- * This is probably the Madonna dated 1221 in the Palazzo Pubblico, Siena - see J.H.Stubblebine, Guido da Siena (Princeton, 1965)

49. Rankin, p.54 (letter from Bamberg, 1789).
Cardelli's work in the Villa Borghese is recorded in note 20 to p.241 of this thesis.
50. Rankin, p.50 (Shanahan's model of Ballyscullion), and Fothergill, The Mitred Earl, p.178 (Sandys' papier-mâché model, 1" to 12', sent out to Italy).
51. Howard Colvin, A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840, second edition (London, 1978), p.718, quoting MS in Canova Archive, Bassano del Grappa.
52. Colvin, p.718, quoting BL, Add MSS 39790.
53. Farington, Diary, ed. Garlick & MacIntyre, II (1978), p.593, 1 July 1796.
54. BL, Flaxman Papers, XI, Add MSS 37790, f.16.
55. Also partly quoted p.219.
56. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, ff.13-15, [26 September-28 October] 1786; ff.41-3, 3 January 1787; and ff.82-4, 24 June 1787.
57. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.13, [26 September-28 October], 1786; also quoted p.140.
58. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.13.
59. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.84, 24 June 1787.
60. Discussed pp.148-9.
61. Farington, Diary, ed. Greig, VI (1926), p.144, 20 September 1810.
62. Farington, Diary, ed. Greig, VI (1926), p.144, 20 September 1810.
63. There was also a Sandys colourman in London at this time (various refs., including Whitley, II, 332).
64. Rankin, p.62, and Fothergill, The Mitred Earl, p.173.
65. Tudor-Craig, pp.1363-4, s.& d. 'Joseph Sandys, 1796'.
66. Rankin, p.49.
67. Rankin, p.64, and Fothergill, The Mitred Earl, p.177.

68. Tudor-Craig, p.1364. Sandys is accepted as the architect by both Rankin and Fothergill.
69. Tudor-Craig, p.1362.
70. Tudor-Craig, p.1363. Tudor-Craig also notes that it is stated in Bristol's Obituary in the Gentleman's Magazine that Ickworth was designed by an Italian architect, and that Tebaldo's Dictionary of 1835 mentions Harvey and a palace built for him in England (p.1365); the 1835 entry is in fact quoted from Asprucci's Obituary in Memorie Enciclopediche Romane (Rome, ?1808), p.124.

Asprucci's Obituary, or the later notice by Tebaldo, was noted by a correspondent to The Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal, Scientific and Railway Gazette, 9 (London, 1846), p.60, who asked for information about the house built for 'Milord Ervei' which he has not been able to identify (ref. from Colvin).

CHAPTER ELEVEN: MORE AS AN AGENT AND DEALER

a. Old Master Paintings

1. Whitley, I, 261.

See also John Hayes, 'British Patrons and Landscape Painting 2: Eighteenth-Century Collecting', Apollo, 83 (1966), 188-97.

2. RA, Anderdon MSS, 6/48 (i), Rome, 22 August 1785.

3. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.25, [10 November-16 December] 1786.

4. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, ff.53-4, [1-8 February] 1787.

5. Jacob More sale, Christie, 26-7 February 1796, second day (lots 97 & 100). Lot 100 is mentioned by Rthlisberger, I, cat.LV 63, Seaport with the Landing of Cleopatra at Tarsus; several versions, including More's, are noted.

6. Panshanger Papers, Rome, 28 December 1782. *

7. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.42, 3 January 1787.

The Earl of Breadalbane commissioned the Morning and Evening of 1785 - see p.112.

8. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.78, [19 May-20 June] 1787.

9. RA, Anderdon MSS, 7/117, Rome, 9 April 1790. Quoted by Whitley, II, 202-3.

10. Farington, Diary, ed. Garlick & MacIntyre, II (1978), p.433, 9 December 1795.

11. BA Rome, Pacetti, MS 321, 3 March 1790, 'hò condotto il Sig.^r Franzoni da M.^r More per vedere un quadro di Ludovico Caracci per farlo proporre al Papa'

5 March 1790, Pacetti was paid by Franzoni for goods sold to the Pope for the Museo Pio-Clementino.

12. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.79, to Bristol, [19 May-20 June] 1787.

13. T.Constable, I, 122n.

14. RA, Anderdon MSS, 7/117, More to Harvey, Rome, 9 April 1790.

- * 6. Pousin - Nicolas Poussin, 1594-1665
 Marati - Carlo Maratti, 1625-1713
 Romanelli - Giovanni Francesco Romanelli ('il Raffaellino'), 1610-62
 Cav: d'Arpino - Giuseppe Cesare, 1568-1640

15. T.Constable, I, 122n.

Methods of restoration could be rough and damaging. Alexander Cozens, in a letter from London to James Grant of Grant in Edinburgh in 1765, advised placing oil paintings 'out of doors, and let them remain there Night and Day, in all Weathers, especially if sunny, for as long a time as you can, washing them with a sponge and clean water, as often as you please' (SRO, Seafield Papers, GD 248 49/3, 21 January 1765).

16. Dallaway, p.508.

17. Rutland Papers, p.214, Byres to Rutland, 10 June 1785.

18. Rutland Papers, p.347, Reynolds to Rutland, 4 October 1786. This episode is noted in Ford, 'James Byres', pp.458-9.

19. e.g. Jenkins, whose forgeries were noted by J.T.Smith, p.122.

20. Thomas Jones, p.141, Appendix, referring to January 1785.

21. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.78, to Bristol [19 May-20 June] 1787.

22. T.Constable, I, 122n.

23. Farington, Diary, ed. Garlick & MacIntyre, II (1978), 433, 9 December 1795.

24. T.Constable, I, 121-123n, quoting a letter from Archibald Constable to the Duke of Devonshire, Edinburgh, 18 March 1814.

G.F.Waagen, Galleries and Cabinets of Art in Great Britain, 3 vols, 1838 edition, I, 270, notes a picture at Chiswick Villa, 'The Blind Belisarius...ascribed to Vandyck'. According to Walpole, it had been bought in Paris by Lord Burlington, but Waagen considered that it was 'not by that master'. This information was not repeated in the edition of 1854, or the 1857 supplement.

In the sale of More's effects at Christie's in 1796, there was a Belisarius, with other Figures, by Murillo (second day, lot 101), and a Portrait of Gavartius by Vandyck (second day, lot 99).

25. RA, Northcote MSS, 42, Northcote to his brother Samuel, Rome, 18 April 1778.

26. RA, Anderdon MSS, 6/48 (i), Rome, 22 August 1785.

27. EUL, La II 648/181, Rome, 22 September 1786.

28. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, ff.25-6, [10 November-16 December] 1786.

The 'Sabastiano' was probably the St. Sebastian panel of Titian's Resurrection Altarpiece in the Palazzo del Quirinale, Monte Cavallo, Rome; see H.E.Wethey, The Paintings of Titian, 3 vols (London, 1969-75), I, cat.92 - various copies are listed including an oil painting and a sketch in the collection of the Earl of Wemyss and March (a painting by More, the Roslin Castle discussed pp.75-6, is in the same collection). Reynolds refers to the painting in Discourse XI, lines 177-183.

The 'Amor Sacre and Amor Profane' in the Borghese Gallery, also by Titian, is still in the collection today; see Wethey, III, cat.33.

The 'Gloudiator' statue was in the Borghese Gallery in More's day, but is now in the Louvre. It is mentioned by almost every guidebook of the eighteenth century, e.g. Montelatici, pp.217-8 (with engraving)

Northall, p.351

Stolberg, I, 411-2.

Wright and Northall both mention copies, the best-known being that at Hampton Court.

'Niobe's Children' - the life-size group in the Villa Medici - is mentioned by Richardson, pp.124-5, 'I consider'd This, and every part of it for several hours alone'. It is also noted by Northall, p.345, and by Winckelmann (quoted in David Irwin, English Neoclassical Art: Studies in Inspiration and Taste (London, 1966), p.90, 'models of the highest feminine beauty').

29. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.53, [1-8 February] 1787.
30. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.74, [19 May-20 June] 1787.

b. Casts of Antique Sculptures

1. Sheffield Public Libraries, Wharncliffe MSS, JGT-19, Rome, 24 December 1777.
2. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.5 (Togliami), and f.60 (Albacini), both in letters to Bristol. Albacini is also mentioned p.297 of thesis.

3. Goethe, Italian Journey, p.150, 16 January 1787.
4. Goethe, Italian Journey, pp.342-3.
5. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.60, to Bristol, 5 May 1787.
6. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.69, to Bristol, [19 May-20 June] 1787.
7. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, ff.79-80, to Bristol, [19 May-20 June] 1787.
8. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.84, to Bristol, 4 July 1787.
9. A cast of the Laocoon was noted by Sampson (1802), p.422, in the collection at Downhill, 'The Laocoon - in gess'.
Neale, VI (1823), n.p., also noted 'The Belvidere Apollo - A Cast'.
10. Herts RO, Panshanger Papers, Rome, 29 August 1788.
11. Information from Hugh Belsey.
Charles Grignion (1717-1810) was the artist who made caricatures of the British in Rome, a ritual in which More refused to take part - see p.217 of thesis.
12. Information from Hugh Belsey.
13. BL, Cumberland Papers, VI, Add MSS 36496, f.124, Rome, 16 June 1789.

c. Other Activities as Agent and Dealer

1. Herts RO, Panshanger Papers, Rome 26 [June or after] 1784.
2. Herts RO, Panshanger Papers, Rome, 5 June 1784.
3. Herts RO, Panshanger Papers, Rome, 25 August 178[4].
Hugh Belsey, who is preparing a thesis on Lord Cowper, has located the table but not the snuffbox(es).
4. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.58, to Bristol, 28 March 1787.
5. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.59.
6. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.85, to Bristol, 4 July 1787.

7. Anthony Pasquin, Memoirs of the Royal Academicians, first published 1796, facsimile reprint (London, 1970), pp.33-4.

8. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.13, to Sandys, [26 September-28 October] 1786; f.41, an account in another letter to Sandys, 3 January 1787, included 'per No: 8: Stampe delle Carmini Raffaello grandi'.

EUL, La II 648/181, More to Harvey, Rome, 22 September 1786, 'Volpates Raffaell'.

9. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.77, [19 May-20 June] 1787.

Raphael (Raffaello) Morghen (1761-1833), pupil and son-in-law of Volpato; the two men worked together on Raphael's Stanze prints (Bolaffi & Bénézit).

More also sent prints to Harvey in 1790 - RA, Anderdon MSS, 7/117, 9 April 1790.

10. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.85, to Bristol, 4 July 1787.

11. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.67, [19 May-20 June] 1787.

12. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.69 [19 May-20 June] 1787.

13. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.85, 4 July 1787.

14. See Bertha de Vere Green, A Collector's Guide to Fans over the Ages (London, 1975), p.297 - Guido's Aurora was common in Italian and French fan painting of the mid-eighteenth century, and p.298 - Guercino's Aurora was common in Italian late eighteenth-century Italian fan painting.

See also the exh. cat. of Fans in Fashion, Temple Newsham, Leeds, & Platt Hall, Manchester, 1975; cat.29, an Italian fan c.1797, 'A view of St. Peters, Rome'.

See p.289.

15. RA, Anderdon MSS, 6/48 (i), Rome, 22 August 1785. Quoted by Whitley, II, 202.

16. RA, Anderdon MSS, grangerised sale catalogue, Sotheby, 12 July 1863 (lot 69), More to Harvey, Rome, 18 April 1786.

17. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.25, [10 November-16 December] 1786, 'Pray have You received the Ultramarine'.

18. R.D.Harley, Artists' Pigments c.1600-1835 (London, 1970), pp.41-3: as far back as c.1600 Hilliard paid £11-0-0 for an ounce, and Harley notes that although eighteenth-century writers on oil and watercolour painting refer to ultramarine, a good deal of documentary evidence suggests that it was used less than in the seventeenth century.

Whitley, I, 334, 'Ultramarine of a sort could be had at three guineas an ounce, but for his best quality Middleton asked ten guineas' (1785).

At Guy Head's sale, Coxes, London, 11-13 April 1810, lots 1 - 92 of the first day were all ultramarine.

19. EUL, La II 647/286, More to Harvey, Rome, 28 October 1786.
NLS, Diary of John Ramsay, MS 1834, f.132, 18 August 1783, Ramsay accompanied More to a colourman in the Palazzo Colonna.
20. RA, Anderdon MSS, 7/117, More to Harvey, Rome, 9 April 1790, 'two hundred of different Sizes' of pencils sent off.
RA, Anderdon MSS, 6/48 (i), Rome, 22 August 1785, 'Fitches'.
EUL, La II 648/181, Rome, 22 September 1786, 'Pincels'.
21. e.g. EUL, La II 648/181, to Harvey, Rome, 22 September 1786, 'Emballing and Licence duty & Portage freight and Expences at Leghorn', and EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.17, Harvey's account, [26 September-28 October] 1786.
22. BL, Cumberland Papers, III, Add MSS 36493, f.129, Irvine to Cumberland, Rome, 10 February 1781.
23. Rutland Papers, p.360, Reynolds to Rutland, 2 December 1786.
24. BL, Flaxman Papers, VIII, Add MSS 39787, f.86.
25. A.Bertolotti, Archivio Storico, Artistico, Archaeologico e Letterario della Città e Provincia de Roma (Rome, 1875), (information from V&A Library, book now unavailable to check).
26. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.6, More to Bristol, Rome, 26 September 1786.
27. e.g. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.17, f.37, f.38, f.41, & EUL, La II 648/181, More to Harvey, Rome, 22 September 1786.
28. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.6, Rome, 26 September 1786, More stated that he would send some cases on a ship bound for Derry that was to sail before the winter; f.59, 28 March 1787, he stated that a consignment had missed the ship and the next might not be for some time, and he asked Bristol if he might send the goods via Hoylake or Dublin.

29. These letters are listed in Appendix B.
30. NLS, Sir William Forbes, *Continental Journal*, VI, MS 1544, f.183, 30 April 1793.
Many travellers to Rome note a cicerone called 'Moir' or 'More'; this was Patrick Moir (1769-1810), the nephew of James Byres, who took over much of his uncle's business when Byres left Italy in 1790. See Ford, 'James Byres', note 66.
31. Most of this material comes from Miss Berry's Journal, now among the Berry Papers in the BL; some is quoted in Extracts from the Journals, which also include several MSS which are now lost.
32. BL, Berry Papers, Add MSS 37729, f.65; quoted in Extracts from the Journals, I, 61.
33. BL, Berry Papers, Add MSS 37729, f.76, quoted in Extracts from the Journals, I, 70-1.
34. BL, Berry Papers, Add MSS 37729, f.131 (unpublished).
35. Extracts from the Journals, I, 109 (MSS lost).
36. Information kindly communicated by Mr. Brinsley Ford; from the Journal or Letters of Dr.J.Parkinson (1754-1840), 25 April 1784, 'Mr Moore Mr Berry & Mr Marchant dined with us ...Mr Marchant & Moore assured us that there were sometimes 40 People wounded with the Stiletto carried into the Hospital in the space of a week'.

d. Commissions for Lord Bristol

1. BL, Cumberland Papers, III, Add MSS 36493, f.128, Irvine to Cumberland, Rome, 10 February 1781. Quoted by Ford, 'William Constable', pp.411-3.
2. See p.20.
3. Information from Mr. Brinsley Ford.
4. Listed in Graves, SA & RA.
5. J.D.Macmillan, pp.135-6, 279-80.

6. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, to Bristol ff.9-10, [26 September-28 October], 1786.

Aldobrandini Marriage - now in the Vatican; see Oreste Ferrari, Treasures of the Vatican, translated from the Italian by Geoffrey Webb (London, 1971), p.254. It may represent Peleus and Thetis, or Alexander and Roxana. It was noted by Richardson, p.305; many copies were made of it, the best-known being that by Poussin, still in the Doria-Pamphilj Gallery, Rome (cat.140/359). It was praised by Winckelmann (Irwin, English Neoclassical Art, p.81), and by Reynolds (Discourse V, lines 321-4, 'the best relique of those remote ages that has yet been found'). J.D.Macmillan, p.181, suggests that Alexander Runciman borrowed the pose for Penicuik House in the late 1770s.

7. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.34, to Bristol, 17 December 1786.
8. Neale, VI (1823), n.p.
9. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, ff.34-5, 17 December 1786.
10. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.48, to Bristol, 11 January 1787.
11. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, ff.55-6, to Bristol, 3 March 1787.
12. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, ff.60-1, to Bristol, 5 May 1787.
13. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.69, to Bristol, [19 May-20 June] 1787.
14. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.79, to Bristol, [19 May-20 June] 1787.
15. See DNB & Bénézit. His early life is noted by Farington, Diary, ed. Garlick & MacIntyre, II (1978), 402, 14 November 1795.
16. Quoted p.87.
17. BL, Cumberland Papers, III, Add MSS 36493, f.128, Irvine to Cumberland, Rome, 10 February 1781, 'Durno has finished two pictures for the Bishop of Derry: one the mourning over the dead body of Hector'. Quoted by Ford, 'The Earl-Bishop', p.428.

18. Memorie per le belle Arti, I (1785), p.72, 'Il Sig. Giacomo Durnò Inglese occupa un distinto luogo fra gli Artisti ultramontani che dimorano in Roma, essendo un lodevole Pittore'.
19. Probably the Falstaff; The Merry Wives, Act 4, Scene II, sold Earl of Cawdor sale, Sotheby, 14 October 1953 (lot 3), 28" x 41½", s.& d.1784, Rome (information from Witt Library).

The DNB states that the two paintings represented in Boydell's Gallery were of 'Falstaff examining his recruits', and 'Falstaff in disguise, led out by Mrs. Page', the latter being now in the Soane Museum.
20. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.9, [26 September-28 October] 1786; also mentioned f.48, 11 January 1787 as being 'intirly finish'd'.
21. Noted in Memorie per le belle Arti, I, 1785, pp.74-5, 'il Capitano Falstaff nell'atto di far leva di soldati'.
22. Neale, VI (1823), n.p.
23. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.9, to Bristol, [26 September-28 October] 1786.
24. Memorie per le belle Arti, I, 1785, pp.172-3.
25. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.9, to Bristol, [26 September-28 October] 1786, 'the Hectore taking Leave of Andromache not yet begune but the Cloath prepar'd'.
26. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.61, to Bristol, 5 May 1787.
27. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.68, to Bristol, [19 May-20 June] 1787.
28. Durno produced a series of Iliad paintings, and it is impossible to distinguish one from another: they are noted-
Memorie per le belle Arti, I, 1785, pp.73-4, a Hector for 'Cavaliere Sware';
Giornale delle belle Arti, II, 1785, pp.161-2, a Priam;
Sampson (1802), p.421, listed a Return of Priam with the Body of Hector at Downhill.
Seguier, p.63, listed The Departure of Hector for the Seige of Troy, sold 1803.

29. BA Rome, Pacetti, MS 321, 7 or 8 November 1783, & 10 February 1784.
30. Various references, including Farington, Diary, ed. Garlick & MacIntyre, I (1978), 271, 9 December 1794.
31. BL, Cumberland Papers, VII, Add MSS 36497, f.290, Skirving to Cumberland, 5 March 1794, reported that Durno was angry 'on account of his [Bristol's] refusing to exhibit the picture of Priam'.
32. Information kindly communicated by Mr. Brinsley Ford; inventory drawn up 13 September 1795.

Several other paintings are recorded. He made at least two copies of Raphael's Transfiguration, one of which was noted by Herbert (Pembroke Papers, p.272, 26 September 1779) as 'A very fine copy of Raphael's Transfiguration, for which he asks £1000'; a second was noted by Pacetti (BA Rome, Pacetti, MS 321), 7/8 November 1783. Bristol purchased one copy, now at Ickworth - see Ford, 'The Earl-Bishop', pp.424,428, previously noted at Downhill by Sampson, p.422, and Neale, VI (1823), n.p.
33. Thomas Jones quoted p.87. Details in Bézézit and Thieme-Becker.
34. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.11, [26 September-28 October] 1786.
35. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.33, 17 December 1786.
36. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.34, 17 December 1786, and ff.34-5.
37. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.56, 3 March 1787.
38. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.69, Rome, [19 May-20 June] 1787.
39. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.79, to Bristol, [19 May-20 June] 1787.
40. Sheffield Public Libraries, Wharncliffe MSS, JGT-105, Bristol to Lady Erne, Downhill, 8 March 1787.
41. Farington, Diary, ed. Garlick & MacIntyre, IV (1979), 1525, 19 March 1801.

42. PRO N.Ireland, Belfast, Hervey-Bruce Papers, MS D.2798/7/14, letter (in translation) from Bristol, Castelamare, to Giuseppe Alladritta in the Piazza di Spagna, Rome, 12 July 180[3], asks for news of Day, where he is travelling at present, and how his wife is.
43. Details in Bénézit.
44. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.6, Rome, 26 September 1786.
45. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.65, [May] 1787.
Various critics have attempted to identify the artist and subject of this painting, then in the Palazzo Borghese. Richardson, p.183, 'Cardinal Borgia, and Macchiavel, said to be of Raffaelle, but I think 'tis rather of Titian'; Wright, p.294, 'Caesar Borgia and Machiavel, an admirable picture of Titian; by some call'd a Raphael'; Watkins, I, 354, 'a Machiavel and Cesar Borgia by Titian'. No such painting is mentioned by Wethey.
46. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, ff.33-4, to Bristol, 17 December 1786.
47. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.68, to Bristol, [19 May-20 June] 1787; he was ready to go to Parma by 4 July (f.85).
48. Fagan's career is described in Raleigh Trevelyan, 'Robert Fagan: An Irish Bohemian in Italy', Apollo, 96 (1972), 298-311.
49. PRO N.Ireland, Belfast, Hervey-Bruce Papers, D.2798/2/103, More to Bristol, 16 March 1790; noted by Trevelyan, p.299.
50. Died 1817 (Bénézit & Thieme-Becker); little other information.
51. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.35, 16 December 1786.
52. Dizionario Biografico, went to Naples 1790, and drew Greek vases in the collection of Sir William Hamilton (see also Bénézit).
53. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.57, 3 March 1787.
54. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.57, 3 March 1787.
55. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.68, [19 May-20 June] 1787; the identity of this artist has not been traced.
56. See Rome and Environs, p.145.
57. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.5, Rome, 26 September.

58. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, ff.5-6; f.3, Bristol's account, includes a payment to [?] Falconi. The identity of this artist has not been established, but the Dizionario Enciclopedia Bolaffi lists a 'Falcini' who worked in the Villa Borghese.
59. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.33, 17 December 1786.
60. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.5, Rome, 26 September 1786.
61. EUL, More's MS Letterbook, f.67, [19 May-20 June] 1787.
62. Details in Bénézit and Thieme-Becker.
63. Ford, 'Thomas Jenkins', pp.424-5. Albercini is also mentioned p.282 of thesis (details in Bénézit & Dizionario Biografico).
64. Ford, 'The Earl-Bishop', p.432.
65. Ford, 'The Earl-Bishop', pp.430-1, and note 31; the statue was confiscated by the French in Rome in 1798, though it was later purchased by the first Marquess of Bristol, either in Rome or Paris, and was listed at Ickworth in 1829 (repro.same article, Plate 8).
66. Ford, 'The Earl-Bishop', p.430, and DNB.
67. BL, Autograph Letters and Miscellaneous Papers, Add MSS 36652, L, f.121; quoted by Ford, 'The Earl-Bishop', p.431, and Whitley, II, 203.
68. See Ford, 'The Earl-Bishop', p.431.
69. Ford, 'The Earl-Bishop', p.431.
70. Farington, Diary, ed. Garlick & MacIntyre, II (1978), 439, 12 December 1795; DNB, 'The instalments were unpunctually doled out'.

Ford, 'The Earl-Bishop', p.431, points out that payments were made on time. The first payment was made on 4 May 1790, the last on 3 August 1791.
71. Ford, 'The Earl-Bishop', p.431.
72. Described in Hugh Honour, 'Antonio Canova and the Anglo-Romans', II, 'The First Years in Rome', Conniosseur, 144, (1959), 225-231 (230-1).

73. Museo Biblioteca e Archivio di Bassano del Grappa, Canova Archive, VI.700.4042; addressed to 'Sig: Canova/ Scultore nella Strada Colonna nella Corso/ Roma:

'J: More reveresce distintamente Il Sigr Canova, lo manda la Stampa della Morte di Milord Chatham, che Milord Bristol pregando Il Sigr Canova di riceverlo della parte da lui come una testimonia della vero stima che lui conserva per la merita e la persona di Sigr Canova

Venerdi 26 : Ottbr 1792.

CHAPTER TWELVE: THE LAST YEARS

a. The 'Panorama of Rome'

1. BL, Letters of William Theed the Elder, 1790-1795, Add. MSS 53790, f.16, to Mr. Newton, 16 January 1793.
William Theed (1764-1817), history and portrait painter, friend of Flaxman (Bénézit).
2. Walker, p.33.
3. EUL, La IV 26, Rome, 1 May 1793.
4. Reference from Edward Croft-Murray, Decorative Painting in England 1537-1837, 2 vols (London, 1962 & 1970), II, The Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries; entry on More pp.245b-246a.
5. Stoddart, I, 160. Also Cririe, p.249, note 7, 'a large view of Rome, as seen from the top of the Capitol, for Prince Augustus of Britain'.
6. Brydall, pp.159-60.
7. EUL, La IV 26, Rome, 1 May 1793.
8. DNB, and Roger Fulford, Royal Dukes: The Father and Uncles of Queen Victoria, third edition (London, 1973), pp.252-280.
9. At Naples - see Fothergill, Envoy Extraordinary, pp.257-8; at Rome - see Lady Knight, Letters, p.171.
10. DNB.
11. See p.278.
12. A full account of the development of the Panorama is given in Scott Barnes Wilcox, 'The Panorama and Related Exhibitions in London' (unpublished M.Litt. thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1976). Wilcox does not mention More, except to quote from Croft-Murray (p.10).
13. Croft-Murray, II, 60.
14. Croft-Murray, II, 62-3; a preliminary study for a panoramic wall, by Barret, in the 1770s, is reproduced in Crookshank & Glin, p.119, Plate 103.
15. Wilcox, pp.17-25.
16. Wilcox, p.25.

17. Some are illustrated in the Enciclopedia Italiana di scienze, letter ed arti (Milan & Rome, 1929-1937), under Rome.
 18. Wilcox, p.225.
 19. Wilcox, p.60.
 20. Wilcox, p.60, and note 128, 'my first view was Rome from the Tower of the Capitol. My next was the city seen from the Villa Ludovisi'.
- Wilcox, p.61, and note 134, considers that Reinagle has confused the order of the two productions.
- Farington, Diary, ed. Garlick & MacIntyre, VI (1979), 2325, 17 May 1804, commented favourably on a Panorama of Rome, 'painted by Reinagle Junior'.
21. Smart, p.122; Nasmyth also described him as 'an agreeable companion'.
- Biographical details of both Reinagles in Bénézit.
22. National Library of Ireland, Dublin, Letters of Lord Bristol to Sir William Hamilton 1778-1800, MSS 2262, Bristol to Hamilton, Rome, 6 June 1796, Bristol requests 'the proper License for M^r. Reynagle, English painter born in London, now in L^d. Bristol's Service', in order that he might paint in Sora, then in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies.
 23. e.g. Extensive Landscape with shepherd boy tending his flock at the edge of a wood, s.& d. Rome 1796, with Spink 1973 (photograph Witt Library).
 24. Farington, Diary, ed. Greig, VII (1927), 125-6, 27 October 1812.

b. More's Death and Burial, 1793

1. Gentleman's Magazine (November, 1793), II, 1055.
2. European Magazine and London Review (October, 1793), 407, 'Lately at Rome, Jacob More, a celebrated landscape painter'.

3. Scots Magazine (December, 1793), p.619, 'At Rome, Jacob Moir, painter'. The date is mistaken as 1 September.
4. Public Advertiser, 14 December 1793, 'Jacob More, who lately died in Italy'.
His death was also noted by Farington, Diary, ed. Garlick & MacIntyre, I (1978), 88, 4 November 1793, and later by Cririe, p.240.
5. BA Rome, Pacetti, MS 321, 'è morto M.^e More Scozzese pittore paesista di grandissimo merito ed à Lassato de denari'.
6. EUL, La IV 25, (Laing's Notes on Artists). Walker, like the Scots Magazine, incorrectly states the date of death as 1 September. The 'lingering illness' was repeated by Cursiter in his notes (SNPG).
7. Quoted p.225.
8. BA Rome, Pacetti, MS 321, 'con dispiacere di molti si porta alla Giuglia di Caio Cestio assieme con Trippel e More, non essendo Cattolico'.
These 'heretic' burials, carried out after dark with an armed Papal guard, are described in several travellers' Memoirs, e.g. Thomas Jones' description of the funeral of Mrs. Pars (p.73, 8 June 1778).
Alexander Trippel (1744-1793), a sculptor from Copenhagen, worked in Rome from 1776 (Bénézit).
9. Protestant Cemetery, Rome, 'Rubrica delle salme e tombe del cimitero degli stranieri accatolici'.
10. Farington, Diary, ed. Garlick & MacIntyre, I (1978), 89, 5 November 1793.
11. Kent's Directory. For the Year 1795..., p.131. A 'Mr Moore' of Poland Street was noted in 1774 - see p.223 & note 43 of thesis.
12. A.G.Grimwade, London Goldsmiths (London, 1976), p.600.
13. Farington, Diary, ed. Garlick & MacIntyre, II (1978), 437, 12 December 1795.
14. Private MSS collection, USA, Jacob More to Sir William Hamilton, Rome, 22 February 1794, endorsed at Naples. The Moonlight is discussed pp.126-7, the engraving pp.152-6, and the Morning Chase pp.132-4, 309.

15. BA Rome, Pacetti, MS 321, 4 March 1794, 'Mr. Head con il Nipote di Mr. More mi hanno ordinato una memoria [per] il il suo Zio Defonto'.

Guy Head (1753-1800) was a pupil of Reynolds; he left Britain in 1780, and lived abroad for some years (Bénézit).

Seguier, p.131, lists a Landscape, with Apollo and the Muses, by More, sold at Head's sale in 1802, for £27-6-0. It is not in the catalogues of either of Head's sales, however (Christie, 13 March 1802, Coxe, 11-13 April 1810).

16. BA Rome, Pacetti, MS 321, 15 March 1794, 'ho terminato il Selpochrino di Jacobo More'.

17. BA Rome, Pacetti, MS 321, 22 March 1794, 'Sono stato a Collocare l'Ura sepolcrale alla Giuglia di Caio Cestio alla Memoria dell'fù Giacomo More Pittor Paesista, fattagli dallo Nipote'.

18. e.g. Honour. 'Vincenzo Pacetti', p.177, states that the tombstone was put in place on 22 March, but that it 'does not appear to have survived'.

19. A.von Kotzebue, Travels through Italy, in the years 1804 and 1805..., first published 1806, 4 vols (London, 1807), IV, 17.

20. In the possession of Alistair Mathews a few years ago.

21. BA Rome, Pacetti, MS 321, 2 October 1793, 'ed à Lassato de denari'.

22. See pp.224-5.

23. T.Constable, I, 122n. Mentioned p.224 of thesis.

Allan Ramsay, The Gentle Shepherd, II, 447, lists a 'sketch' by More at Newhall House, 'bought from his sister', though this may have been an earlier work, done before More left Scotland.

24. Farington, Diary, ed. Garlick & MacIntyre, II (1978), 498, 24 February 1796.

25. Second day (lot 92), discussed pp.132-4.

26. See p.275.

27. This was perhaps the Michaelangelo More had attempted to sell to Prince Augustus, see p.278.

28. Farington, Diary, ed. Garlick & MacIntyre, II (1978), 500, 27 February 1796, 'some Flemish pictures from Brussels belonging to Monsr. Lyss'.
29. e.g. Croft-Murray, II, pp.245b-246a; Brydall, p.160.

c. Rome, 1793-1800: The Close of an Era

1. The French army finally occupied Rome in 1798.
2. Farington, Diary, ed. Garlick & MacIntyre, III (1979), 719, 14 December 1796.
3. Ford, 'The Earl-Bishop', p.432, quoting BL, Add MSS 53790.
4. V&A, MS 92. D.28, Letters & Sketches from Mr.C.H.Tatham, P & D, 92.D.28, to Holland, Rome, 30 January 1796.
5. Joseph Wilcocks, Roman Conversations, second edition, 2 vols, (London, 1797), I, 492.
6. HMC, 15th. Report, Appendix, Part VII, Manuscripts of the Marquess of Ailesbury, p.257, letter Rev. Thomas Brand to the Earl of Ailesbury, Rome, 6 November 1793.
7. BL, Cumberland Papers VII, Add MSS 36497, f.291, Skirving to Cumberland, Rome, 5 March 1794.
8. Trevelyan, p.299.
9. Fothergill, The Mitred Earl, p.185.
10. Lady Knight, Letters, p.207, 'a very worthless fellow Fagan is, but under the patronage of his Royal Highness'.
11. J.T.Smith, p.121.
12. Fothergill, The Mitred Earl, p.234.
13. Trevelyan, p.299.

APPENDIX Ai) Paintings Exhibited by More in London, 1771-1789

This list is compiled from Graves, The Society of Artists
and The Royal Academy

1771 The Society of Artists

- 90 - A large landscape; an evening
- 91 - A View of Corehouse Linn, on the river Clyde
near Lenark
- 92 - A View from Dunbar Castle
- 93 - A small landscape, a land storm
- 94 - A View of Bannington Linn
- 95 - A View of Ross Linn Castle

1775 The Society of Artists

- 174 - A Landscape, a storm, with a view of the Lake
of Albani
- 175 - ditto
- 176 - A Landscape; a calm, with a Bridge, on the
Road to Tivoli
- 177 - A Landscape; a Sunset, with a distant View of
Rome

1777 The Society of Artists

- 81 - A View of the Lake of Nemi, anciently called
Speculum Dianae, near Rome; evening

1783 The Royal Academy

180 - View of the Cascade at Terni

207 - View of the Campagna from Tivoli, with
Maecenas's villa and the Cascatella1784 The Royal Academy15 - The great eruption of Mount Vesuvius, in which
which the elder Pliny lost his life1785 The Royal Academy

109 - Landscape- a composition

422 - Landscape view of the Castle Gondolfo, upon
the Lake of Albano, near Rome1786 The Royal Academy

388 - View of the Coast of Sicily and Mount Aetna

404 - View of the Campagna of Rome

1788 The Royal Academy

139 - The Deluge

387 - An eruption of Mount Etna, with the story of
the pious brothers of Catania, as mentioned
by Diodorus Sicullus and other authors1789 The Royal Academy

76 - Moonlight

109 - View near Rome

ii) More's Patrons and Contemporary Collectors

AUGUSTUS Frederick, Duke of Sussex

Biography pp.301-2, Fulford and DNB

Possibly purchased Old Master paintings from More (p.278);
commissioned Panorama for Buckingham House 1792-3 (pp.300-4).

ACCADEMIA di San Luca

Received donation of a landscape painting when More became
an Academician, 1781 (p.228).

ALEXANDER, Mr.

Banker in Edinburgh, patron of More and Runciman; may have
helped More to Italy (pp.83-4).

BARBER, Mr. John

Identity unknown.

Sale Christie, 26 June 1807, second day (lot 79), painting
by More 'purchased by him above forty years ago in Italy' (p.123).

BEAUMONT Sir George

Biography in DNB; see also Leicester Museum & Art Gallery,
Sir George Beaumont of Coleorton Leicester: a Catalogue of
Works, compiled by Luke Herrmann and Felicity Owen, and
Felicity Owen, 'Sir George Beaumont and the Contemporary

Artist', Apollo, 89 (1969), 106-11. Listed Appendix B.

No commissions recorded or traced, although More gave advice on landscape painting; mentioned frequently Chapters Five and Eleven.

BERRY, Miss Mary

Biography in DNB, and note 2 to p. 238.

Shown round artists' studios in Rome by More 1783-4 (pp.289-90)

BORGHESE Family, Rome

Commissioned landscape painting for Villa Borghese (Chapter Nine a.) and the designing of an English Picturesque Garden in the grounds (Chapter Nine b.), both 1785-8.

BREADALBANE, Marquess of

John Campbell, 4th. Earl & 1st. Marquess (1762-1834).

Arrived Rome 1783 (Ford, 'James Byres', p.450; commissioned two paintings 1785 (p.112); purchased Old Masters from More c.1787 (p.275).

BRISTOL, Lord

Frederick Augustus Hervey, 4th. Earl of Bristol, Bishop of Derry (1730-1803) . Listed Appendix B.

Large number of commissions and correspondence (Chapter Ten); also employed More as an agent (Chapter Eleven, particularly section c.)

BUTE, Earl of

John Stuart, 3rd. Earl of Bute (1713-1792). Biography in DNB. Adviser to George III; helped Allan Ramsay gain Court patronage (Smart, p.103).

Watercolour in Bute's collection passed to Walker's Drawing Academy Edinburgh (p.141). (There were no works by More in Bute's sale, Christie, 19 March 1796).

BYRES, James

Agent and dealer in Rome. Biography in Ford, 'James Byres'. Mentioned at various points in thesis; praised More's abilities (p.223); owned one painting (pp.96-7).

COOPER, Richard

Painter and engraver, colleague and friend of More; in Rome 1772 and at other times.

Advised More on the price of his engravings (p.155); copied six of More's watercolours (p.148); executor of More's will (p.306); sketched More's tomb after his death (pp.307-8).

COWPER. Lord

George, 3rd. Earl Cowper (1738-89). Biography in Belsey. Listed Appendix B.

More recommended to him by his Chaplain Sandys (p.219); commissioned Four Elements series 1784 (p.130); employed More as agent for Old Masters etc. (Chapter Eleven); perhaps helped More in his submission of Self-Portrait to Uffizi (p.231).

CUMBERLAND, George

(active c.1780-c.1830). Dilettante, amateur artist, collector and writer (see Whitley, II, 336). Listed Appendix B.

Criticised More's presumption in submitting his Self-Portrait to Uffizi (p.217); (?) ordered cast of antique statue (p.284).

FORBES, Sir William

6th. Bart. of Pitsligo.

Praised More's character and abilities (p.289); employed More as guide in Rome 1792-3 (p. 219).

GREY, Lord

Thomas Egerton, Lord Grey de Wilton (1749-1814). Listed Appendix B.

Received four watercolours from More 1787 (p.139); probably sold 1906 at Heaton Hall sale, Prestwich (catalogue not traced).

HARVEY, Thomas 'of Catton'

Master weaver of Norwich who built up a large collection of contemporary and Old Master paintings (1748-1819). Admirer of Wilson, friend and patron of Gainsborough, Crome and Beechey; see Francis Hawcroft, 'Crome and his Patron: Thomas Harvey of Catton', Connoisseur, 144 (1959), 232-7, and Clifford, John Crome. Recommended to More by Joseph Wright (p.220). Listed Appendix B.

Patronage of More documented solely by the correspondence, quoted widely in thesis; catalogue of sale after death now

lost, though three items in Crome's sale (1821) may have been in his collection (pp.197, 214)

HOARE, Sir Richard Colt

Dilettante, traveller and collector (1758-1838); biography in Woodbridge and DNB.

A landscape by More recorded at Stourhead 1818 and 1840 (p.121).

LANGFORD-BROOKE, Jonas

Died as young man on, or soon after, his Grand Tour (1784-5).

Two paintings c.1783 still in family collection (pp.107-9); second pair commissioned (but not sent to family) at least one of which went to Thomas Harvey (p.109).

LOCH, George

From Edinburgh; knew More in Rome; biography pp.95-6. Listed Appendix B.

Commissioned four small landscapes 1776 (pp.95-7); others sent from Rome 1785 (p. 96)

MCGOWAN, John

Edinburgh drawing-master and collector. Listed Appendix B.

Received four drawings 1786 (pp.140, 196-7); one included in sale of 1804 (pp.140-1).

MARTIN, David

Edinburgh artist; assistant of Allan Ramsay and Secretary to the Society of Artists 1770s; biography in DNB, Irwins pp.65-8, thesis p.85).

Proposed More for membership Soc. of Artists c.1771 (p.85); owned several of More's paintings, four of which were included in his 1799 sale (pp.56, 80); at least three passed to George Walker (see below).

MILLS, Mr.

Identity unknown.

Two landscapes being painted for him 1779 (p.97).

MONTGOMERY, Sir James

Early Edinburgh patron; biography and details p.21.

PATON, George

Edinburgh antiquarian; biography in Ronald P.Doig, 'George Paton: A Study of his Correspondence'(unpublished M.Litt. thesis, University of St. Andrews, 1956)

Noted More's work as an etcher (p.30); More made a drawing for him before leaving Edinburgh (p.77).

PATTESON, John

Friend of Thomas Harvey in Norwich; probably the same Patteson whom John Soane knew in Italy c.1778-9 (Henry-Russell Hitchcock, The Architecture of Sir John Soane (London, 1961), p.23).

Listed Appendix B.

Commissioned at least two paintings (pp.214, 121), and Old Masters (La II 25, f.51); sale of his effects (25 & 29 May 1819, Norwich, now missing).

POPE PIUS VI

Angelo Braschi of Casena, Pope 1775-1799.

Commissioned a painting from More 1781 (pp.106-7).

RAMSAY, Alexander

Identity unknown.

His sale in London, 1785, included a landscape by More.

RAMSAY, Allan

Biography in Smart, Allan Ramsay.

Probably knew More in London (p.86); employed More as draughtsman in Italy 1777 (pp.98-101).

REYNOLDS, Sir Joshua

Biography in Waterhouse & DNB.

Probably bought paintings from More in London (p.84); owned paintings later in Walker's collection (p.12); possibly bought another later for resale (p.165); high estimation of More's abilities quoted 1781 (p.9); More asked another patron to show Reynolds two paintings for future exhibition 1787 (p.221).

SIMPSON, Mrs., née MORE

More's sister; probably the same sister who lived with him in London and exhibited at the Soc. of Artists; later recorded owning paintings by him (pp.223-4).

SMITH-BARRY

Little known of this patron; mentioned by various writers as resident in Rome in the 1780s. Listed Appendix B.

In 1787 More asked him to show paintings of his to Reynolds (p.221).

SPENCER, Lord

George John Spencer, 2nd. Earl; biography in DNB.

Appendix B.

Commissioned two waterfall paintings still in collection, 1778 (pp.191-3).

STUART, Mr.

Possibly Sir John Stuart of Allanbank, 3rd. Bart (1714-96).

Listed Appendix B.

Commissioned three large landscapes 1786 (La II 25 , f.29); owned several paintings by More (Cririe, p.239, Brydall, p.160); the Vesuvius of 1780 donated c.1829 to the Royal Institution, Edinburgh, by Sir James Stuart of Allanbank.

UFFIZI Gallery, Florence

Accepted donation of More's Self-Portrait 1784 (Chapter Eight, section c.)

WALKER, George

Edinburgh artist and teacher. Listed Appendix B.

Received four drawings 1793 (p.141, 174); a drawing by More in his Academy copied by a student 1796 (p. 141); learnt 'Body Pastell' technique from More (p. 174). Owned several of More's paintings, later in the collection of Kinfauns Castle (pp. 56, 77-9).

WHARTON, Thomas

Excise commissioner in Edinburgh; early patron and collector of More's paintings (pp.60-1, 77, 83).

YORKE, Philip

Either 2nd. Earl Hardwicke (1720-1790), or 3rd. Earl Hardwicke (1757-1834), patron of Nasmyth (Whitley, II, 348).

Commissioned painting(s) 1784 (pp.110, 119).

iii) Sales of More's Paintings to 1900

This section lists all works traced from extant sale catalogues, and other sources; it is obviously impossible to check every sale catalogue up to this date and the list cannot therefore be regarded as complete.

1785 - 26 April, Alexander Ramsay sale, Hutchins, London,
lot 39 - 'A Rocky Landscape'.

1796 - 26-7 February, Jacob More sale, Christie, London, 2nd.day,
lot 92 - 'A landscape with Diana and nymphs at the chace,
one of the finest and one of the latest of the works of
this celebrated artist' (bought Francis, £110-5-0; see
pp.132-4, 309).

1799 - 14 January - 5 February, David Martin sale, Edinburgh,
13th. day, lot 58 - 'Beautiful landscape...oval carved
and gilt frame, extreme', 3'8" x
3'0", £9-0-0 (see p.123)

17th. day, lot 503- 'Storm...elegant carved and gilt
frame, 2'4" x 1'11" (see p.80)

18th. day, lot 594- 'A sketch, a storm', 2'5" x 3'4",
£1-1-0 (see p.80)

19th. day, lot 698- 'The Falls of Clyde...Superb carved
and gilt frame', 3'3" x 3'11"
(see p.56).

1801 - (Seguier, p.131) - 'View of the Cascade at Tivoli',

£18-18-0 (see p. 197)

'Ditto of the Bridge at Narma',

£19-19-0 (see p.141).

" " (separate sale)- 'The Meeting of Jacob and Rachael',

£17-6-6 (see p.134)

1802 - (Seguier, p.131) - 'Landscape, with Apollo and the Muses',

£27-6-0 (Sale Guy Head, according to

Sequier; not in printed cat., see p.134).

1803 - (Seguier, p.131) - 'View of a lake in Italy', £4-4-0

(see p.121).

1804 - 26 January, John McGowan sale, Philipe, London (for 7 days)

Framed & Glazed Drawings, lot 71 - 'A capital Italian

landschape, with the Sybil's Temple, at Tivoli, and

figures, by Jacob More, free pen and colours, one of

the best of this excellent artist' (see p.197).

1807 - 26-8 February, Christie, 2nd. day,

lot 4 'Three small landscapes, highly finished', (see p.123).

" - 26-7 June, John Barber of Brentford sale, Christie, 2nd.day,

lot 79 - 'View in Italy (purchased by him above forty years

ago in Italy)', £5-0-0 (see p.123).

1807 - 26-7 June, George Walker sale, Christie,

lot 12 - 'The Great Fall of Clyde, called Cora-Linn'

(see pp. 56-8)

lot 13 - 'A Land Storm' (see pp. 78-80)

lot 14 - 'A Sun Setting, with Figures and Cattle' (see p. 77-8)

(All sold to Francis. Lord Gray).

1803-1816 (Seguier, p.131), Robert Thistlethwaite sale (possibly

Lugt 6637, Christie, 20 May 1803)

'A view near Tivoli, with Figures', £5-5-0 (see p. 197)

'Ditto, the companion'

" "

1816 - (Seguier, p.131), Henry Hope sale (several listed by Lugt
for 1816)

'A View near Rome', £23-2-0 (see p.95).

1821 - 25 September - 1 October, John Crome sale, Athow, Norwich,

1st. day, lot 54 - 'An Eruption of ^{Mount} Stremboli' (see p. 214)

4th. day, lot 103- 'Pair of Drawings, the Interior and

Exterior of Neptune's Grotto - Tivoli'

(see pp.140, 197).

1830 - (Seguier, p.131) - 'A View of the ancient Walls of Rome',

£3-0-0 (see p.95).

1835 - 19 & 21 December, Charles Galli, Edinburgh, 2nd. day,
lot 136 - The Falls of Tivoli (see p.197).

1837 - 20-1 January, James Russell sale, Tait, Edinburgh,
lot 156 - 'View leading from the Appenines to Naples',
1'4" x 1'0" (see p.142)
'Temple of the Sun at Rome - the Companion',
same size (see p.142).

1842 - 20-1 May, Christie, London, 2nd. day,
lot 11 - 'View of the Lake Albano, looking towards the
Campagna' (see pp.119-121)
lot 12 - 'A Cascade in Italy, with the Tiber seen in the
distance'
lot 100 - 'A rocky landscape with a cascade, and peasants
with cattle; evening-scene' (probably 'A rocky
Landscape, with a Cascade' listed by Segquier,
p.131, £2-5-0).

1844 - 24 February, Tait, Edinburgh,
lot 8 - 'The Falls at Terni' (see p.197)
'View near Rome - the companion'.

1886 - 8 June, Christie, London (information Glasgow Mus. & A.G.)
lot 49 - 'Morning' (see pp.112-5)
lot 50 - 'Evening' "

1887 - 5-8, 12-14 March, Gibson-Craig coll., Dowells, Edinburgh,
 2nd. part, lot 891 - 'Pastoral Subject', 11" x 15",
 £0-12-6 (see pp.80-1).

1890 - 15-18 April, Dr. John Percy coll., Christie, 4th. day,
 lot 836 - 'Bay of Naples, from Vesuvius; and Near Naples'
 (bought Roberts; see pp.136-7, Plate 44).
 lot 837 - 'Monte Virginia; and Terracina (bought Mitchell,
 see p.142)
 lot 838 - 'Stone Steps Leading to a Cavern' (bought Oliver,
 see p.142)
 lot 839 - 'A View near Rome' (bought Colvin, see p.142
 & Plate 48).

1891 - 10-12 December, W.Fettes Douglas coll., Dowells, Edinburgh,
 lot 312 - Volume of drawings including Jacob More.

APPENDIX B
MORE'S CORRESPONDENCE

All correspondence listed in this Appendix is from More. It is listed in two parts, (i) an alphabetical list of correspondents, and (ii) a chronological list of the letters.

A full reference to the location of each item is given in (i), and abbreviated references in (ii). All items bearing the reference 'La IV 25' are draft letters; the group of letters sold at Sotheby (12 July 1863), most of which are now lost, bear their lot numbers from the sale. Short business notes addressed to bankers and agents, noted but not quoted in the text, are also included.

(i) Alphabetical List of More's CorrespondentsSir George BEAUMONT

[10 November-16 December]	1786	-	EUL, La IV 25,	ff.25-8
[19 May-20 June]	1787	-	" "	ff.70-3

Lord BRISTOL

26 September	1786	-	" "	ff.5-7
[26 September-28 October]	"	-	" "	ff.9-11
17 December	"	-	" "	ff.33-6
[3-11] January	1787	-	" "	ff.45-7
11 January	"	-	" "	ff.48-50
3 March	"	-	" "	ff.55-7
28 March	"	-	" "	ff.58-9
5 May	"	-	" "	ff.60-2
[19 May-20 June]	"	-	" "	ff.68-70
" "	"	-	" "	ff.78-80
4 July	"	-	" "	ff.84-5
16 March	1790	-	PRO N.Ireland, Hervey-Bruce Papers, D.2798/2/103	

Antonio CANOVA

26 October	1792	-	Bassano del Grappa, Canova Archive, MS VI.700.4042
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Lord COWPER

30 November	1782	-	Herts RO, Panshanger Papers, D/EP 310/85
28 December	"	-	"
5 June	1784	-	"
26 [June or after]	"	-	"
25 August	1787	-	"
8 March	1788	-	"
29 August	"	-	"

George CUMBERLAND

16 January	1789	-	BL, Cumberland Papers, VI, Add MSS 36496, f.124-5
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Mark DAVIES

10 November	1786	-	EUL, La IV 25, ff.21-3
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Messrs. DORRUM

[16-23] December	1786	-	EUL, La IV 25, ff.38-9
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Messrs. FLETCHER, Son & Westley

[26 September-28 October]	1786	-	EUL, La IV 25, ff.7-8
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Lord GREY

20 June	1787	-	EUL, La IV 25, f.81
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Thomas HARVEY

8 January	1785	-	EUL, La II 648/180 (Sotheby 65)
20 March	"	-	lost (Sotheby 66)
22 August	"	-	RA, And. 6/48 (i) (Sotheby 67)
30 January	1786	-	lost (Sotheby 68)
18 April	"	-	lost (Sotheby 69)
15 July	"	-	lost (Sotheby 70)
22 September	"	-	EUL, La 648/181 (Sotheby 71)
[26 September-28 October]	"	-	EUL, La IV 25, f.19
28 October	"	-	La 647/286 (Sotheby 72)
[1-8 February]	1787	-	La IV 25, ff.52-4
8 February	"	-	La IV 26
[19 May-20 June]	"	-	La IV 25, ff.74-7
9 April	1790	-	RA, And. 7/117 (Sotheby 73)

Sir Robert HERRIES & Co.

[3-11] January	1787	-	EUL, La IV 25, f.43
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George LOCH

8 October	1776	-	BL, Loch Papers, MS 40885, f.114
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James LOCH

29 March	1777	-	BL, Loch Papers, MS 40885, f.139
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John MCGOWAN

[10 November-16 December] 1786 - EUL, La IV 25, ff.31-2
 23 December " - V&A, Eng.MSS 86-JJ-Box II

John PATTESON

1 February 1787 - EUL, La IV 25, ff.50-1

Giuseppe PELLI

10 May 1784 - Florence, Uffizi XVII/17
 9 June " - " "

Messrs. PRESCOTT, (?Grote) & Co

[10 November-16 December] 1786 - EUL, La IV 25, f.30

Mr. SANDYS

[26 September-28 October] 1786 - EUL, La IV 25, ff.13-5
 3 January 1787 - " " ff.41-3
 24 June " - " " ff.82-4

James SHEDEL

[26 September-28 October] 1786 - EUL, La IV 25, ff.18

Mrs. SIMPSON

28 December 1790 - lost (quoted T.Constable,I,122n)

Mr. SMITH BARRY

19 May 1787 - EUL, La IV 25, f.63

Lord SPENCER

[?] January 1789 - Coll. Lord Spencer, Althorp

[?] STUART

[10 November-16 December] 1786 - EUL, La IV 25, f.29

George WALKER

1 May 1793 1793 - EUL, La IV 26

(ii) Chronological List of More's Correspondence

1776	8 October	- George Loch	- BL, Loch
1777	29 March	- James Loch	- BL, Loch
1782	30 November	- Lord Cowper	- Herts RO
"	28 December	- "	- "
1784	10 May	- Giuseppe Pelli	- Uffizi
"	5 June	- Lord Cowper	- Herts RO
"	9 "	- Giuseppe Pelli	- Uffizi
"	26 [June or after]	- Lord Cowper	- Herts RO
1785	8 January	- Thomas Harvey	- EUL,
"	20 March	- "	- lost (Sotheby)
"	22 August	- "	- RA
1786	30 January	- Thomas Harvey	- lost (Sotheby)
"	18 April	- "	- " "
"	15 July	- "	- " "
"	22 September	- "	- EUL (Sotheby)
"	26 "	- Lord Bristol	- EUL
"	[26 Sept.-28 Oct.]	- Fletcher & Westley	- "
"	" "	- Lord Bristol	- "
"	" "	- Mr. Sandys	- "

1786	[26 Sept.-28 Oct.]	- James Shedel	- EUL
"	" "	- Thomas Harvey	- "
"	28 October	- "	- " (Sotheby)
"	10 November	- Mark Davies	- "
"	[10 Nov.-16 Dec.]	- Sir G.Beaumont	- "
"	" "	- Mr. Stuart	- "
"	" "	- Prescott & Grote	- "
"	" "	- John McGowan	- "
"	17 December	- Lord Bristol	- "
"	[16-23] "	- Messrs. Dorrin	- "
"	23 "	- John McGowan	- V&A

1787	3 January	- Mr. Sandys	- EUL
"	[3-11] "	- Sir R.Herries	- "
"	" "	- Lord Bristol	- "
"	11 "	- "	- "
"	1 February	- John Patteson	- "
"	[1-8] "	- Thomas Harvey	- "
"	8 "	- "	- "
"	3 March	- Lord Bristol	- "
"	28 "	- "	- "
"	5 May	- "	- "
"	19 "	- Mr. Smith Barry	- "
"	[19 May-20 June]	- Lord Bristol	- "
"	" "	- Sir G.Beaumont	- "
"	" "	- Thomas Harvey	- "

1787 [19 May-20 June]	- Lord Bristol	- EUL
" 20 June	- Lord Grey	- "
" 24 "	- Mr. Sandys	- "
" 4 July	- Lord Bristol	- "
" 25 August	- Lord Cowper	- Herts RO
1788 8 March	- Lord Cowper	- Herts RO
" 29 August	- "	- "
1789 [?] January	- Lord Spencer	- Althorp
" 16 "	- George Cumberland	- BL, Cumberland
1790 16 March	- Lord Bristol	- PRO N.Ireland
" 9 April	- Thomas Harvey	- RA (Sotheby)
" 28 December	- Mrs. Simpson	- lost (Constable)
1792 26 October	- Antonio Canova	- Bassano del Grappa
1793 1 May	- George Walker	- EUL

APPENDIX C.

Transcripts of Reviews of More's Paintings in Roman Journals,
1784-7

Four volumes of each Journal have been found in the Biblioteca Hertziana, Rome - Giornale delle belle Arti (I - IV, 1784 - 1788), and Memorie per le belle Arti (I - IV, 1785 - 1789). There are also three (incomplete) volumes of Memorie in the V&A Library, London. The two Journals produced the same type of critical material in much the same format.

Full transcriptions of reviews are listed on the following page;
other reviews quoted in the text are -

The poem on More's Tempest published in Giornale, III, 30 (29 July 1786)
 & 31 (5 August ")
 Memorie, II (May 1786)

The Review of Pacetti's Temple and More's landscaping in the Villa Borghese, Memorie, III (March, 1787)

(Details in footnotes).

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Deluge (thesis, p.130) | <u>Giornale</u> , I, 14 (3 April, 1784),
107-8 |
| 2. Vesuvius (pp.210-2) | <u>Giornale</u> , I, 16 (17 April 1784),
122-3 |
| 3. Moonlight (pp.125-6) | <u>Giornale</u> , II, 2 (15 January 1786),
9-10 |
| 4. Lake of Albano (pp.119-20) | <u>Giornale</u> , II, 3 (22 January 1785),
17-18. |
| 5. Morning & Evening (pp.112,5) | <u>Memorie</u> , I (March, 1785),
41-2 |
| 6. Apollo & Daphne (p.242) | <u>Memorie</u> , I (October, 1785),
158-60 |
| 7. Tempest (pp.128-9) | <u>Memorie</u> , II (May, 1786),
123-4 |
| 8. Tempest (p.129) | <u>Giornale</u> , III, 22 (3 June 1786),
169-70 |
| 9. Moonlight (p.126)
Lake of Albano (p.120) | <u>Giornale</u> , III, 50 (16 December 1786),
1785), 293-4 |
| 10. Vesuvius (pp.213-4) | <u>Giornale</u> , IV, 5 (3 February 1787),
33-4 |
| 11. Deluge (p.131) | <u>Memorie</u> , III (June, 1787),
125 |
| 12. Etna (pp.212-3) | <u>Memorie</u> , III (February, 1787),
29-32 |

1 Giornale delle belle Arti, I, 14 (3 April 1784), 107-8.

'Egli ha scelto fra gli ottimi soggiornati in Roma il Sig. Giacomo More Inglese Accademico di merito di Luca; e nella scelta ha comprovato il suo buon gusto, ed intendimento. De' quattro ordinati ne ammiriamo già ^{due} Compiti in tele di palmi sei per
5 alto, ed otto in larghezza. I due elementi in esse rappresentati sono l'acqua, ed il fuoco.

Il Deluvio universale presenta l'elemento dell'acque: niente meglio potea convenire, poichè allora appunto fu la maggior comparsa sul nostro Globo del possente elemento.
10 Storia la più luttuosa, ed orrenda, ricopiata da favolosi Greci, da 'Miscredenti più discreti attribuita ad una attrazione di Cometa, da 'nostri dimostrata a cento segni indelebili dello sdegno Divino. Il Sig. More bravo non meno ad immaginare, che ad eseguire si è figurata l'ultima forza delle acque vincitrici.
15 Esse fanno nel suo quadro la prima apparenza. Ricoperta ormai tutta la superficie terrestre non emergono che poche, e variamente elevate cime de' Monti più alti: ma queste ancora minacciate di oppressione dall'impeto incessante delle piogge, le quali non già dalle nuvole distillate, ma secondo
20 l'espressione Mosaica dalle aperte cateratte piombano, ed affettansi d'eseguire il fatale estermínio. Il Sole che nelle diurne sue visite conforta, e risana da tante sventure, qui comparisce ad accrescer l'orrore, e lo spavento. Velato dalla densità dell'aere carico d'acque non solamente mirasi senza
25 oltraggio; ma di tetro pallore involto mentre fa distinguere appena e da lunge l'Arca Noetica, che galleggia, e da vicino tutto il più tremendo della Sciagura universale, coll'avvicinarsi del suo disco alle ultime ore aggrava le smanie de' pochi Mortale Superstiti. Privati i miseri a momenti
30 d'ogni ajuto dal sormontare della onde; col cader del Sole vegono più imminente la morte; e la tenebrosa notte che si avvanza toglie qualunque speranza di salvezza. Le acque cadute benchè vadano a livellarsi si vestono di tinte diverse ora per il vario riflesso della caliginosa luce, che sovrasta, ora
35 per il diverso piano che sottomettono. I monti uniti fra loro nell'avvallarsi per qualche breve tratto ricevono in quello spazio le acque più torbide, e fangose per il soggetto terreno; quelle che nuotano su fondo più cupo, prendono il colore meno oscure; ma le une, e le altre si fanno specchio dell'immagine
40 più nera interrotta soltanto da 'torrenti spumosi. Non solamente ivi si ammontano le acque precipitate dall'alto; ma quelle che da colli più erti si divallano negl'inferiori; seco traendo qualche cadavere di que' più coraggiosi saliti a cercare lo scampo. L'oggetto principale è l'elemento; e perciò vi
45 presenta tutti gli altri segni del suo potere. Que' pochi rame d'alberi avanzati sull'erta cedono al continuo nembo, e le bagnate frondi pesanti s'aggrumano; l'erbe, ch'esser dovrebbero rigogliose, dalla creta sollevata si concludano, e dallo scarico della pioggia.

50 In un quadro di Paesista l'ultimo loco rimane alle figure:
ma quì sono così ben disgnate, composte, e dipinte, che meritano
una contemplazione non passeggera. In una di quelle piccole
eminenze ancora scoperte, che si fa più avanti nel quadro mouve
a pietà un pugno di Uomini, e Donne in varie azioni, ma tutte
55 d'affano, di voti, di pianto. Quasi sommerso un cavallo nel
diruparsi di quella sommità mal sostiene il cavaliere, il quale
mentre procura di prolungare le speranze, e la vita, da basso
sente tirasi nelle acque dal compagno, che s'attacca a'piedi
suoi per sottrarsi da morte. Le braccia stese, e i pallidi
60 volti levati al Cielo, le persone ormai affondate eccitano le
più viva compassione; e fa d'uopo umiliarsi all'Eterna
Guistizia, ed alla sua Pietà per voltare le spalle al quadro
con fronte serena.

2. Giornale delle belle Arti, I, 16 (17 April 1784), 122-3.

Pittura.

Non meno bello è l'orrore, in cui il Sig. More ci vuole involti allo scorprirsi del secondo suo quadro esprimente il fuoco. Anche questo elemento si sta quivi, direm così, nel Trono; e con tutta la mostra del suo potere. Ha il foglio sul
5 erta del Vesuvio. Il Pittor coraggioso volò da Roma colà per osservarne una eruzione, onde ripetere in tela il vero d'una scena sempre funesta. Noi di quà dal mare, che fa sena in quella parte, vediamo su questa tela la spettacolo terribile con occhio più turbato di colui che si volga all'onda perigliosa,
10 e guata. Chi non vidi mai nè il Vesuvio finto nè il vero, per delinearne in mente i primi segni, vi richiami le recenti fortite della nostra Girandola di Castello; e quindi da una piccola eruzione fatta per gioco, momentanea, innocente, ne argomenti meglio che puo una rovinosa, e fatale, tanto maggiore,
15 quanto più grande è un Monte intero, nelle cui viscere sterminate si covano que'zolfi e que'bitumi, d'un cassone di legno, che quì racchiude poche particelle imprigionate dall'arte. Il centro della eruzione, la quale ascende drittamente è il più infocato, e quasi la sua luce biancheggia: l'occhio
20 ne resta colpito con più vigore per l'oscurità della notte. Di varie tinte si veste ne'lati, passando da una accensione più chiara alla più rossigna, ed alla più cupa con que varj colori, di cui si vestono, e si spogliono i metalli nelle fucine. L'irreparabile violenza, che spinge in su quell'igne
25 fiumana porta seco i macigni o interi, o rotti che si opponevano allo sbocco, quale appunto vasto vincitore torrente. Nel suo salire per lunga linea l'impeto si distingue, con cui assalta le nuvole, finchè diminuita dopo tanta strada la forza, spandesì agguisa di ventaglio; e
30 ricade in tremenda pioggia a coprire le soggette pianure. Non solamente l'aria s'infiamma, accendendo pure le inertel'alazioni, ma il suolo rosseggia inondato quà è là dalla tarda lava, al di cui inoltrarsi non che le piante, o le zolle più tenaci, ma le mura più forti non fanno resistere.
35 Due fumi diversi interrompono assai bene la focosa pioggia. Uno si alza da quelle materie, che si smorzano in mare, l'altro dall'incendio della Città vicina, i di cui Tempj, e fabbriche di buona Architettura si mirano in lontano già preda dal nemico elemento. Il mare agitato e sconvolto riflette sull'orlo estremo de'suoi
40 cavalloni quella torbida luce, la quale illuminando pur tutta la lingua di terra, che dall'indietro si avanza in gomito fino alla prima linea del quadro ci fa distinguere le persone; e gli abitatori scampati dalla Città distrutta. Queste figure non solamente bene vi stanno, ed a meraviglia disegnate, e
45 composte; ma fanno una parte essenziale di tutta l'Immagine; poichè vi si rappresenta la morte di Plinio. Mentre fuggono da luoghi circonvicini Uomini, e Donne co'teneri figli in braccio, e co'loro Dei Penati, pieni di spavento, e di affanno, coprendosi meglio che possono il capo, o con le vesti,
50 o con le robbe salvate: e mentrel'Armata Navale dispersa, e sbattuta dall'onde non puo accostarsi al lido con legno alcuno

per ricevere il suo Generale; questi sul medesimo lido
 sostenuto da due Servi, come raccontò poi il Nipote a Cornelio
 Tacito, si abbandona sulle loro braccia, e muore soffocato dal
 55 caldo, dal fumo, e dal grave odore di zolfo, che al suo malore
 d'asma accrebbero tutta la forza per prevalere di vita nell'età
 di 56. anni l'anno 79. dell'Era Christiana. Questa morte di
 Plinio rende il trionfo dell'elemento del fuoco, espresso così
 al vivo dall'egregio Pittore, superbo maggiormente, e parlando
 60 co'Poeti, detestabile per la sua ingratitudine: avendo colla
 più cruda mano della Natura estimo colui, che della cose
 naturali fu il più studiosi indagnatore, ed amico. Ma il Sig.
 More dipingendo la morte d'un Dipintore della Natura, ha molto
 compensata la perdita; eternando insieme col suo quadro
 65 l'effigie dell'insigne Scrittore.

3. Giornale delle belle Arti, II, 2 (15 January 1785), 9-10.

Vennero già annunziati dal nostro Giornale nell'anno scorso due bellissimi quadri di Paesi di mano del celebre Pittore scozzese Sig. More nostro Accademico. Impiègava egli sin d'allora l'industre suo pennello a compirne altre due
 5 della medesima grandezza de'predetti, che doveano servire, l'uno per Milord Bristol, l'altro per Sig. Cavaliere York. Con sorprendente maestria vedesi rappresentata nel quadro per Milord Bristol una bella veduta a lume di Luna piena nel punto del suo massimo chiarore, perchè sgombra affatto da vapori, e nuvole,
 10 benchè di queste non poche se ne veggano quà, e là sparse per cielo, e principalmente intorno al medesimo Pianeta, dal quale ricevono il Lume degradato in proporzione della loro maggiore, o minor distanza da esso. Trionfa però il disco Lunare sull'azzurro del Cielo con tal forza, a vivacità di lume, che il
 15 scintillante chiarore abbaglia gli occhi, quanto possa mai dirsi, simigliante al vero. Tutto è dipinto con esattezza di disegno, con vivacità d'invenzione, con gran forza d'espressione, e con ben eseguito contrasto di lume, e d'ombra, ma senza quel tenebroso, o sia nerume in cui sogliono cadere i pittore
 20 manierati, o che a prima vista può recar sorpresa, ma che poi ben esaminato, massime dagli intendenti, presto sfuma, e si risolve in un vero abbaglio, e disordine dell'arte. E quantunque la descritta veduta venga rappresentata in tempo di notte; non poteano però avervi luogo le caricate oscurità,
 25 mentre come accuratamente ha osservato l'egregio Professore, essendo la Luna nel punto del suo maggior splendore, le parti illuminate non possono a meno di rifletter alquanto la luce, e quindi correggere il gran bujo della notte. Si alza quazi nel davanti del quadro uno scoglio alto più della metà del
 30 quadro medesimo, sul piano della cui cima scorgonsi ben espresse diverse fabbriche, trà le quali campeggia un Tempio di Diana, ne mancano d'esservi tratto effigate piante, cespugli, ed orti, che con naturale irregolarità graziosamente vestono i cignoni, ed il pendio dello scoglio stesso, dal
 35 quali non lungi ne sorge un altro minore. Sono entrambi circondati da altri differenti scogli più piccoli ricoperti anch'essi di basse piante, onde riflettononalla piccolezza di queste, allo scarso vigore delle frondi, ed all'apparente sassosità, l'arte stessa chiaro vi fa comprendere, non esser
 40 in che scarso, e sottile il terreno, onde secondate non vengono, che per alzarzi alcun poco. Sorgono i detti scogli in mezzo all'acque d'un fiume, che scorre loro a'piedi, e mostra circondarli all'intorno. Serve di sponda a questo fiume dalla parte opposta su le prime linee una preminenza di
 45 terreno, che si avvanza ad accostarsi con una punta a ridetti scogli, onde non ne appare discosto, che lo spazio d'un palma incirca. Sopra del riferito terreno s'innalzano quattro grand'alberi, de'quali due ve n'ha, che colle tronche estremità al finir della tela spiccano in guisa, che fanno ad evidenza
 50 comprendere quanto nella natural loro posizione vadano a stendersi assai più in alto; nell'estensione poscia de rami inferiori fin al di sotto della metà del quadro presentano un

dilettevole, e ben ombreggiato intreccio. Altro d'essi alberi rimane tronco, ed il situato poi più avanti, che è anche il
55 più grosso, piegasi al margine della tela, mostra facendo d'uscire, e continuar per quella parte. Dietro alle descritte piante appariscono in non molta distanza varii piccoli arboscelli, tra quali scorgesi più indietro l'elevazione d'un Monte, che campeggiando colla sommità ad un terzo circa del
60 quadro illuminata in pieno dalla Lune, che vi stà a perpendicolo va a terminar colle sue falde dietro i riferiti scogli colle estremità nello stesso fiume, anch'esse sparse di pianticelle, e virgulti. Con sì vaga disposizione viene tutto ciò rappresentato, che formandosi nel mezzo del quadro in piano
65 di limpi'acque, da queste direttamente riflesso in lume della Luna, viene a risultarne un lume più dilatato, che nel suo tremulo manifesta gl'effetti dell'increspamento dell'onde, dalle quali fu ripercosso. Siede dormendo su la nude terra al piede del primo, e maggior albero il vago giovanetto Endimione,
70 per le cui bellezze vinta, ed attratta l'amorosa Diana in un gruppo di nuvole prededuta dal cane gli si avvicina al atto di sorpresa, stendendo graziosamente le braccia verso l'amato oggetto. L'impasto de'colori, l'armonia delle tinte, la naturalezza della fra scala vivezza del tocco, lo scompartimento,
75 e disposizione, l'esattezza in somma, e la novità dell'invenzione, e dell'eseguimento, tutto concorre a render degna d'ammirazione L'opera di questo degno, ed indefesso Professore, che non manca di meritarsi con frequenti produzioni la stima, e gli elogi del Pubblico.

4. Giornale delle belle Arti, II, 3 (22 January 1785), 17-18.

Si disse già nello scorso foglio, essere stati da noi veduti nello Studio dell'egregio e valoroso pittore Sig. More due quadri di paesi, e nel primo si descrisse un'amenissima veduta fatta per commissione di Milord Bristol. Parleremo
 5 ora dell'altro, ordinato al predetto illustre professore dal Sig. Cavaliere York. Rappresenta questo la vaga e deliziosa veduta del Lago di Albano dalla parte di Palazzola nell'atto appunto che

10 L'Astro lucente apportator del giorno
 S'immerge in seno alla Tirrena Dori.

Non si può mirare cosa più recreante la spirito umano, talchè sembra all'attorito spettatore di trovarsi in quel luogo, godere dell'occidentale orrizzonte, e respirare quelle dolci
 15 aurette. L'avanti del quadro è di gran forza, avendo ottentuto il valente artefice con il contrasto, e la degradazione delle tinte quell'armonia vivace e dolce nel tempo stesso, che è tanto difficile. Tutto qui si scuopre nella sua naturale ineguaglianza, tanto nelle tinte d'erbe e terreni, quanto in un principio di
 20 bosco sulla prima linea del piano bene indicato da vari alberi e tronchi, quali divisi aprono la via all'ingresso di detto bosco, che conduce verso Albano, e s'inalzano con bella varietà quasi dietro all'altezza del quadro. Dietro a questo rimangono più bassi e più distinti altri alberi di tinte più chiari e rosseggianti poichè sono illuminati da'raggi del sole, che sul
 25 limitare dell'orrizzonte vedesi tramontare; e ciò viene ad essere dietro al giardino de Cappuccini. Sull'istessa linea dall'opposta parte evvi altro grouppo d'alberi ascendenti circa la metà della tela, e dietro a questi vedesi porzione di Palazzuola. Nel mezzo fa specchio al Cielo il Lago, che è
 30 circondato dal terreno alquanto montuoso sparso d'abitazioni, e tutto, con grand'arte e verità traspirisce nell'acqua, ed in particolare l'eminenza su cui si erge Castel Gandolfo. Dietro alla sudetta linea si mira il piano, e tutta la Campagna di Roma, interrotta ogni tutto (seconda la visuale) dal Tevere.
 35 Più addietro s'inalzano le Montagne della Tolfa verso Cività vecchia, con la veduta del Mare, che ve a terminare con l'orizzonte suddetta. Sul primo piano, cioè sulla strada vicino all'ingresso della macchia, vi è gruppo de villavecce figure, che ballono, una donna suona il tamburello, un pastore il piffero, e altri
 40 riguardanti, con vari animali bovini in qualche distanza. Il Cielo è sereno, e soltanto sparso pittorescamente di piccole e leggiere nuvole. L'armonia del tutto, le tinte, che da'raggi del Sole cadente, ricevono gli oggetti fan sì, che lo spettatore non ha bisogno che gli venga additato, ciò che hà voluto
 45 rappresentare il Pittore, come non ha d'uopo di maggiori elogi, chi tanto col suo merito si rende degno di ammirazione si nella practica, che nella scienza della ardua sua prosessione.

5. Memorie per le belle Arti, I (March, 1785), 41-2.

L'Arte di dipingere i paesi non rinaque, o non crebbe in Italia nel tempo stesso, che rinaque, crebbe quella di rappresentare le figure. Il secolo decomosesto, che fu l'aureo per la pittura istorica, non ebbe, che mediocri, e duri
 5 paesisti. Non era stato ancora osservato con occhio di verità questa genere di pittura; gran parte degli Artisti non conosceva abbastanza l'effetto dell'aria, frapposta fra l'occhio, e gli oggetti lontani, e Leonardo da Vinci, che avea montrato di conoscerlo ne'suoi scritti, lo avea poi trascurato ne'suoi
 10 quadri. I Pittori dunque di quella età dipinsero i paesi con durezza, con istento, e con una certa affettata precisione nei contorni, e nelle ombre. Da questi difetti naque, che gli oggetti ch'essi hanno voluto presentarci i più lontani, malgrado la loro diminuzione ci sembrano i più vicini. Se
 15 Tiziano si fosse con serietà applicato a quest'arte potea giungere alla perfezione; giacche qualchè saggio, che ce ne ha lasciato, è mirabile. Ma Tiziano non fu paesista di professione, onde quest'arte aspettò fino al secolo seguente per perfezionarsi. Claudio, Gasparo, e Salvatore ne ebbero la
 20 gloria. Non è decaduta nel nostro secolo, ed abbiamo in Roma molti valenti Artisti, che gareggiano con quanti altri giammi ne furono. Spesso avremo occasione di parlare di loro. Una di essi è il Sig. Jacob More d'Edimburgo, di cui abbiamo veduto con molta soddisfazione due opera destinate per Milord Conte di
 25 Breadalbane Scozzese.

Rappresenta una di esse il tramontare del Sole in un caldo giorno d'estate. I raggi del cadente pianeta spargono una luce sanguigna, e traversando fra gli alberi, vanno a riflettere in un fiume, che tortuosamente s'aggira per una vasta pianura, e
 30 corre verso il mare, che si vede placido in lontananza. Mentre i mietitori affanati si affaticano a compiere le ultime ore del loro lavoro, un drappello di ninfe va preparando i necessarii arredi per sacrificare alla Dea della Biade, il di cui tempio sorge sull'opposta riva del fiume, e a cui già accorrono in
 35 folla le turbe campestri.

Nell'altra tela è figurato il nascere del Sole in uno dei primi giorni di primavera. La terra ride, e si ricopre di tenere erbe, il mandolo è già rivestito de'suoi candidi fiori, e la neve più non biancheggia, che sulle cime di
 40 lontanissimi monti. L'aria è pura, e tranquilla, ed il sole, che sorge, va dissipando gli umidi vapori mattutini, che ancora non del tutto dispersi formano in alcuni luoghi una trasparente leggerissima nebbia. La campagna è irrigata da un placido fiume che nel suo limpido seno fa specchio agli oggetti, che
 45 la circondano. Vedesi di là dal fiume il tempio di Flora, e nell'avanti del quadro vi è la Dea sul suo cocchio tirato da alati genii, e circondato dalle Ninfe. Amore vola per coronarle la fronte di rose.

Bellissima in ambedue questi quadri è la scelta del sito.
50 Gli alberi sono eseguiti con leggerezza, e verità tale, che
fanno illusione, e sembra che l'occhio penetri, e trapassi fra
i loro ombrosi recessi. L'aria, il fiume, le piante, il mare,
tutto in somma è dipinto con armonia, ed accordo grandissimo,
e noi restiamo dubbiosi a quale di queste due tele debbasi
55 accordare la palma.

6. Memorie per le belle Arti, I (October 1785), 158-160.

Del Signor Jacob More di Edimburgo abbiamo altre volte parlato; ma ora di nuova favelleremo di lui con sommo piacere, perche le sue opera sono sempre condotte con dotta avvedutezza, e ci forniscono materia ad utili riflessioni sull'Arte. Ha
5 egli dipinto per la villa Borghese una gran tela, in cui per accompagnare il bel Paese, che vi ha rappresentato, ha espresso la favola della trasformazione di Diane in lauro. Nell'avanti del quadro si veda una rustica strada in mezzo a due rupi vestite di folti alberi, fra i quali al destro lato s'inalza
10 un pino; da una parte delle strade medesima scorre un fiume; circostanze che l'Autore ha guidiziosamente osservate per fare comprendere, che Dafne era giunta in luogo ove non avea più scampo, e solo potea sperare nel favore de'Numi. Infatti Apollo l'ha raggiunta, e già col braccia l'arresta; ma la Ninfa
15 volge gridando gli occhi al Cielo, ed esaudita dai Numi già cangia in radici d'alloro i piedi, ed in frondisi ramoscelli le mani. Il fiume che fa di sè bella mostra in questa veduta ha origine da un lago, che vedesi nell'ultima lontananza circondato da monti, e questo fiume viene tortuosamente aggrirandosi per una
20 campagna più alta, e dopo essere con precipitosa caduta disceso ad un piano più basso, ritorna a prendere il suo placido corso agitato solamente da un leggero venticello, che ne increspa le onde. Questo quadro è dipinto con quella felicità d'esecuzione, ch'è propria del Signor More. Avendo egli voluto rappresentare
25 le prime ore di una mattina di estate, l'aria è serena, ma ingombrata da leggeri vapori; le minute stille che s'inalzano dalle acque cadenti, l'effetto, che sopra di esse fa il vento, ed il trasparente velo, che oppongono alle luce i mattutini vapori sono tutte cose imitate fedelmente dalla natura. Lodevole
30 però sopra tutto è l'ingegnosa avvertanza, con cui ha saputo l'Autore adattarsi alla forma della tela soverchiamente alta. Un pino è l'albero, ch'egli ha prescelto per trionfare nelle parte anteriore del quadro, e nell'indietro dividendo la campagna in due piani, ho potuto empire maggiormente la tela,
35 e schivare quella spiacevole uniformità, che forma la veduta di una continuata pianura. Le composizioni difettose per la necessità di adattarsi ad un determinato sito sono talora scusabili nei quadri d'istoria; ma non mai nei paesi. La natura offre una immensa varietà di alberi, di rupi, di sassi,
40 di monti, e di altri oggetti, che basta saper scegliere fra tanti quelli, che sono più adattabili all'opera, che deve eseguirsi, e non v'è dubbio di poter comporre, ed unire in qualunque strana figura, un qualche bell'accidente della Natura. Ma d'onde avviene, che vediamo molti paesi o male
45 ideati, o sempre uniformi, e disposti cogli stessi alberi, cogli stessi sassi, e cogli stessi edifizj. Ciò nasce, perchè dai paesisti non si studia la natura, la quale sola può ad essai suggerere le più copiose, e le piu belle composizioni.

7. Memorie per le belle Arti, II (May 1786), 123-4.

Poesia.

Andavamo noi preparando un articolo pel nostro foglio pittorico, destinato a descrivere, e rilevare i pregi di un bellissimo quadro del Signor Jacob Moore, rappresentante il mare agitato da una furiosa tempesta in tempo di notte: quando
 5 ci è venuta alle mani una descrizione del medesimo quadro scritta in versi sciolti. Noi dunque la publichiamo, assicurando i lettori, che con fedeltà è stato esposto dal Poeta tutto ciò che il Pittore ne ha eseguito. Il merito dell'invenzione si rileverà dai versi; ma del merito dell'esecuzione ci resta a
 10 dire qualche cosa. Avendo il Sig. Moore rappresentato un momento dei più rapidi, che possano darsi in natura, quale è quello dello scoppiare d'un fulmine, che colla sua luce illuminava le notte più buia: noi siamo restati sorpresi come abbia egli potuto esprimerlo con tanta verità. Pare, che L'imitazione
 15 domandi un certo tempo per essere eseguita, e che un oggetto, che velocemente ci passa d'inanzi, e sparisce, non lasci in noi impressioni sì vive, onde la mente possa tutte richiamarle, riunirle, ed esporle. Fa dunque grande onore all'ingegno, e alla memoria del Signor Moore questa tela. Tutti gli effetti
 20 della pallida luce del fulmine sopra gli oggetti sono eseguiti con una bravura, ed una forza impareggiabile, e la composizione del sito è talmente immaginata, che la distribuzione del lume serve a renderlo doppiamente orrido pel contrasto, che con essa fanno le parti non illuminate, e singolarmente le voragini
 25 profonde, che si aprono in mezzo alle acque.

Gli oggetti più lontani si veggono in quell'incertezza, che lasciano le tenebre, quando per un passeggero in momento sono dissipate. Quel sito medesimo che restano nelle oscurità sono dipinti con tanta verità, che lasciano luogo allo spettatore a
 30 ruminare sugli oggetti, che in esso devono esistere; come realmente segue nella notte, nella quale anche nelle tenebre ritroviamo qualche lontanissima traccia o delle fabbriche, o delle alberi, o delle colline, che ci circondano. E' impossibile il rivolgere gli occhi a questa pittura senza veramente provare
 35 spavento, e ribrezzo. Le poche figure, che l'Autore vi ha introdotto sono distribuite così bene, che chiamano subito gli sguardi dello spettatore. Sono esse composte sul gusto Pussinesco, e con una sorprendente forza di espressione. Concludiamo col dire, che questa è una di quelle opere, nelle
 40 quali si vede che l'Autore nell'eseguirle ha avuto sempre l'estro medesimo, che gli riscaldava la fantasia, e per così dire gli dirigeva il pennello. Noi siamo grandissimi estimatori del merito del Sig. Moore, ma non ostante crediamo, che un lavoro simile egli stesso non potrebbe impegnarsi di rifarlo ad ogni
 45 momento: perchè certi lampi di originalità si accendono di rado anche negli uomini grandi, ed il Petrarca non ha avuto sempre pronte le belle immagini de'suoi più grandi sonetti, e l'Alighieri ha descritto una sola volta le vicende del Conte Ugolino.

8. Giornale delle belle Arti, III, 22 (3 June 1786), 169-170.

Signor Giacobbe More, Pittor Scozzese, che ha intrapreso a delineare in un ampia tela con i colori una delle più lugubri Scena della natura, cioè il mare inconvolto agitato da un orribile tempesta in tempo di notte. E tanto più è ardua
 5 l'impresa da esso mirabilmente eseguita, in quanto che una tal notte delle più tetre ed oscure, resta improvvisamente illuminata dallo scopiar d'un fulmine, Sembra impossibile come abbia ciò potuto esprimere con tanta forza e verità. Tutti gli effetti della sanguigna luce di questa meteora sono
 10 toccati con una bravura e maestria impareggiabile. Le nuvole agitate da venti, che si urtono, e a ogni vibrano lucide stricie di foscosi lampi: il mare, gli Scogli opposti che frangono, le onde sono cose che si presentano alla vista del riguardante in una maniera così vibrata ed espressiva, che di
 15 più non si può defiderare. Mirasi il naufragio di una grossa nave carica di ricche merci, e sul vicino lido gli avanzi dello squarciato legno, e i cadaveri de miseri passeggeri e marinari, che ne componevano l'equipaggio. Un pietoso pescatore accorso a prestare ajuto a suoi simili trae fuori degli irati
 20 flutti una giovane sposa quasi abbandonata in braccio alle morte, che stringe al petto il tenero suo figlio semivivo; altri si affaticano a tirare alla sponda la barca che segue la nave de pallidi e languenti passeggeri ripiena. Dall'altro canto un alta torre è presa di mira e rovinata dal fulmine, l'onde
 25 s'incalzano, ed aprono immense voragini, ed ora sembra che tocchi vogliano le stelle. Gli oggetti più lontani sono in quell'incertezza che lasciono: le tenebre quando da un passeggero luminoso istante sono dissipate le figure che il Sig. Moore hà in detto quadro introdotte sono con tanta arte distribuite, che
 30 subito offrono allo sguardo dello spettatore, che non può fare a meno nel veder questo quadro di non risentire del ribrezzo e del terrore. Un illustre Poeta ha fatta de si bell'opra una vaghissima descrizione in versi sciolti, che merita certamente di errer moltiplicata in tutti i fogli d'Italia, investendosi
 35 della fantasia istessa del Pittore, e noi subito che farà terminata la Tragedia del D. Carlo, ci faremo un pregio di riportarla.

9. Giornale delle belle Arti, III, 50 (16 December 1786), 293-4.

Eccoci di nuovo a parlare dell'insigne Pittore paesista Inglese Sig. More. Fu fatta già del suo famosa quadro della tempesta di mare in tempo di notte la duplicata descrizione. Ora avendo egli esposti alla pubblica ammirazione due altri
 5 quadri simili a detta tempesta egualmente destinati per l'Inghilterra, non manchiamo di riportarli. Rappresentata il primo un amenissimo paese illuminato in tempo di notte dalla Luna piena. Si mira scorrere un rapido e vasto fiume in mezzo a un folto dirupato bosco verdeggianti nel tempo estivo. Di
 10 dietro agli monti sorge il luminoso pianeta, e la luce rifrange nell'acqua con uno splendore che sembra totalmente naturale, e

'Fra l'onde miriam gelida, e bruna
 Rompere i sassi, e scintillar la Luna.'

Tre vaghe donzelle nude uscite allora dal bagno stanno
 15 assisse al rezzo a godere dello spirare dei freschi venticelli, e delle tiepide aurette. Una sul margine del fiume sudetto sta asciugandosi le piante. Sopra un colle ergesi un ampio edificio, che domina le sottoposte campagne l'Orrizzonte, è imitatore a segno della natura, che pare la natura istessa. Il tetro orrore della
 20 notte si vede espresso maravigliosamente rischiarato dal Lunare chiarore. Tutto è quieto, tutto è tranquillità, e tra quelle ombre placide, e chete, si può veracemente dire, che Morseo vi hà diffusi

'I papaveri suoi sparsi d'orblio'. '

L'altro nel pieno estivo meriggio rappresenta il tante volte mentovato lago di Castel Gandolfo, il suo Pontificio Castello stà dal manco lato. Tutto il contorno del Lago è espresso nel quadro con quelle piante, che gli fanno corona, e le chiarissime acque, che effigato riportano quanto in esse si
 30 specchia. Due ragazzi stanno arrampicandosi sopra una querchie per carpire un nido di uccelli; uno è a piè del tronco. Più lungi stanno due Donne, che una col panno in capo secondo il costume del luogo, e un'altra senza. In mezzo a loro un uomo, che sta sonando una Chitarra. Dietro al lago vi è la veduta di
 35 tutti i circonvicini paesi. Cosa più finita ne loro genere di questi quadri non può vedersi, e che può osservarli non è mai stanco della sua ammirazione. L'armonia, il colorito, la franchezza del tocco, la delicatezza della frappa senza quello stentato, che si scorge dall'occhio intendente ne lavori troppo
 40 studiati, sono pregi superiori a qualunque descrizione possa farsi dalla più faconda penna. Noi senza umore di esser tacciati di esagerazione, e di soverchi lodatori diremo, che M. More va a gran passi ad occupare il primo posto nel Tempio della gloria pittorica, ed amettersi a canto appunto del gran
 45 Claudio Loren^ese detto a ragione il Principe professori paesisti. Natora non ha di che laguarsi allorchè trattata viene da sì eccellenti mani.

10. Giornale delle belle Arti, IV , 5 (3 February 1787), 33-4.

Il Vesuvio quel formadabil vulcano, che tante e tante volte ha infuso fin dall'anno 70 dell'Era Christiana il maggior spavento nella Campagna o Terra di Lavoro e sue adiacenze, hà dato molto da affaticarsi a Pittori, ma forse nessuno, sinceramente parlando, è arrivato a trattare con tanta sublimità un tal soggetto, quanto il rinomato Pittor Paesista Sig. More Inglese, di cui si è avuta l'occasione l'anno scorso più volte di parlare, e de suoi bellissimi quadri di vedute, che formano l'ammirazione universale di Roma tutta, e di tutti gli esteri personaggi, che in questa gran Città continuamente si portano. Vedesi in un gran quadro da esso non è molto condotto alla maggior perfezione il monte Vesuvio, con le due acuminate vettee, e il vallone che l'una e l'altra vetta divide, che tramanda al cielo tra i vortici del fumo e delle bituminose fiamme un altissima colonna di fuoco, che in principio stretta quan'esce dalla bocca, poi si dilata per l'emiffero, nel tempo istesso che escono con essa pietre infuocate d'enorme gradezza, e fulmini che intorno all'aere acceso van serpeggiando, come appunto sono state le descrizioni dell'eruzione del 1631., del 1767, e dell'ultima a terribile del 7. Agosto 1779. Si aprono sul dorso del monte varie altre bocche più piccole dalle quali escono torrenti di ardente lava che scorre giù pel dorso della montagna, o fuoco liquefatto, che ovunque porta ove tocca la desolazione e la rovina, e tutto riduce in cenere. Lo splendore della fiamme illumina tutto l'orizzonte in tempo di notte, il mare che bagna le falde di detta montagna, il Cratere di Napoli, Portici, Torre del Greco, e tutti gli altri Casali di quell'amenissimo lido, ma soggetto a troppa dura pensione. Anche la Città di Napoli istessa ne resta in parte illuminata, e il pittore abilissimo hà saputo dare a quel fuoco quel vero colore che veramente hà, ben diverso dal colore del fuoco naturale. Si vedono per la strada fugire i mseri abitanti chi con i figli, chi con i mogli, e gli ammalati addosso; altri mezzi nudi trasportano i loro più necessari abiti ed utensili; tutto e lutto e terrore; il mare serve di specchio e si orrendo spettacolo. A solo riguardare questo quadro, ove tale e tanta magia e verità ha saputo infondere il Sig. More, uno si sente nascere in seno tutti i moti provenienti dall'orrore e dallo spavento. In tal genere non è possibile mirare in tela altrettanto, ne un sì orrido fenomeno puo esser meglio.

11. Memorie per le belle Arti, III (June 1787), 125.

Il Sig. Jacob Moore ha terminato un quadro, che deve fare da compagno a quello da noi descritto dell'eruzione dell'Etna. Egli ha scelto per argomento il Diluvio universale. Una vastissima valle circondata da alti monti è il luogo della
5 scena ch'egli ha rappresentato. Il sole vicino al tramontare traspare pallidamente fra le dense nuvole, e le dirotte piogge. Le acqua, che cadono dal Cielo, scorrono in larghe piene giù dai monti spogliati d'ogni erba, e d'ogni cespuglio dall'impeto della pioggia, che ha già resi curvi i rami più robusti, e gli
10 stessi tronchi degli alberi. La valle è coperta tutta dalle acque, che sono vicine a superare la cima di un monte, su cui si sono rifugiati pochi afflitti viventi, che in varie attitudini esprimono la loro angoscia, e domandano al Cielo pietà. Uno di essi tenta sopra un cavallo di fuggire a traverso delle acque
15 sui monti più alti, un altro lo segue a noto, ma ambedue mal reggono contro l'impeto delle acque, e sono vicini a perdersi. L'Arca galleggia in una somma distanza. Questa tela è dipinta con una tale verità, che ispira orrore a mirarla; ha essa i meriti, de'quali è ricca ogni opera del Sig. Moore; ma poi si
20 aggiunge a questi la somma qualità dell'argomento, cui forse nella difficoltà non può trovarsi l'eguale.

12. Memorie per le belle Arti, III (February 1787), 29-32.

'E' molto giudiziosa scelta quella dei Paesisti, quando nelle figure de' loro quadri introducono de' soggetti, che possono renderli più importanti, e che non lasciano ammirare nella tela la sola imitazione della inanimata natura. Il Sig. Jacob Moore, di cui frequentemente hanno parlato i nostri fogli, dovendo rappresentare uno de' più orridi spettacoli della natura, cioè l'eruzione di un Vulcano; ne ha scelto una dell'Etna, e singolarmente quella, che i due fratelli Ansinomo, e Anapio resero celebre per la loro pietà verso i genitori. Ha rappresentato il Pittore il monte in lontananza, che aperta da un fianco una bocca, manda in alto una colonna di fuoco, la quale solleva seco sassi roventi, partorisce fulmini, co isce di sanguigno le nuvole, e somministra una tetra luce a tutti gli oggetti. Un fiume di fuoco scende diviso in più lave dalla montagna, e scorrendo alcune di esse per la città di Catania ne vanno distruggendo gli edificj, e veggonsi i tempj e le fabbriche più sublimi, che vanno cedendo all'impeto del fuoco. Vedesi soltanto non lontano dal mare intatta la casa dei due vecchi genitori di Ansinomo, e Anapio: le lave si sono divise vicino a quella, ed hanno lasciato libera così essa, come la strada, che alla riva del mare hanno tenuto i due pii fratelli. Nella parte innanzi del quadro si veggono questi due medesimi, come dice Claudiano sudantes venerando pondere. Quello dei due, che porta sugli meri il genitore, e già più prossimo al mare. Il vecchio mosta maggior costanza nella sciagura della consorte, la quale sostenuto dall'altro figlio, solleva dolente le mani giunte al Cielo. Una barca si è appressata al lido per raccogliere questi miseri avanzi dell'incendio, e tutti coloro, che nella barca ritrovansi, pare che scordato il proprio dolore, e spavento, da altro non sian presi, che dall'ammirazione della pietà de' due figli. La composizione di questo quadro è grande, ed accompagna assai bene il soggetto eroica, che in esso si rappresenta. Bene immaginata è l'architettura degli edificj della città, che le fiamme vanno distruggendo, ed espresso assai bene è il corso delle lave ardenti, della quali una parte va a precipitarsi nel mare, e nel mischiarsi fra l'acque inalza un torbido fumo. Nell'onde del mare si veggono i riflessi della fiamma, e del fuoco, che dissipa le tenebre della notte. Avendo il Sig. Moore esaminato attentamente nella Natura questi orrendi accidenti, ha potuto poi rappresentarli con verità sorprendente, ed il suo quadro simile ad una tragica rappresentazione atterrisce a un tempo stesso, e diletta.

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c) Catalogues of Exhibitions and CollectionsExhibitions

Aberdeen City A.G.	Romantic Art (1971)
Arts Council of G.B. (Newcastle & London)	The Art of Claude Lorrain (1969)
Belfast A.G.	Scottish Masters from the NGS (1957-8)
Bologna (Palazzo dell'Archiginnasio)	I Carracci (1956)
Detroit Institute of Arts	Romantic Art in Britain (1968)
Dundee City A.G.	British Association Exhibitions (1867, 1947)
Edinburgh, NGS	Scottish National Exhibition (1908)
" "	The Discovery of Scotland: The Appreciation of Scottish Scenery through Two Centuries of Painting (1978); cat. by James Holloway & Lindsay Errington
Florence (Palazzo Pitti)	Firenze e L'Inghilterra: rapporti artistici e culturali dal XVI al XX secolo (1971)
Glasgow A.G.	Scottish Painting (1961)
" "	Scenic Aspects of the River Clyde (1972)
Leeds (Temple Newsham) & Manchester (Platt Hall)	Fans in Fashion (1975)
London, GLC (Iveagh Bequest, Kenwood)	Philip James de Loutherbourg, RA, 1740-1810 (1973)
" "	British Artists in Rome 1700-1800 (1974)
" "	Gaspard Dughet called Gaspard Poussin 1615-75 (1980)

London (Manning Gallery)	Carlo Labruzzi: An Exhibition of Fine Watercolour Drawings of the Appian Way (1960)
" (Royal Academy)	British Art (1934)
" "	Scottish Art (1939)
" "	Italian Art and Britain (1960)
" (Sotheby)	Art into Art: Works of Art as a Source of Inspiration (1971)
" (V&A)	Englishmen in Italy (1968)
" "	The Rediscovery of an Artist: The Drawings of James Jefferys (1751-84), (1976)
Milan (Palazzo Reale)	Pittura Inglese 1660-1840 (1975)
Naples (?Capodimonte)	Vedute napoletane della raccolta Lemmerman (1957)
" (Capodimonte)	Civiltà del '700 a Napoli: 1734-1799 (1979-80); cat. 2 vols
Norwich (Castle Museum)	Eighteenth-Century Italy and the Grand Tour (1958)
Ottawa (NG Canada)	Three Centuries of Scottish Painting (1968)
Rome (Palazzo delle Esposizioni)	Il Settecento a Roma (1959)
" "	L'Italia vista dai pittori francesi del XVIII e XIX secolo (1961)
Venice, Bologna & Rome	Mostra di disegni di Johann Wolfgang Goethe in Italia: studio e conservazione ...nella repubblica democratica tedesca (1977)

Collections

It is impossible to list all the numerous catalogues of collections consulted in the course of this study; those noted below contain specific research information discussed in the text.

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Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum	Goodison, J.W., <u>Catalogue of Paintings, III, British School</u> (Cambridge, 1977)
Cincinnati Art Museum	<u>Permanent Collection of the Cincinnati Art Museum</u> (Cincinnati, 1905)
Edinburgh, NGS *	Andrews, Keith, & J.R. Broatch, <u>Catalogue of Scottish Drawings</u> (Edinburgh, 1960)
Milan, Castello Sforzesco	Arrighi, P., & A. Bertarelli, <u>Piante e Vedute di Roma e del Lazio conservate nella raccolta delle stampe e disegni del Castello Sforzesco, Milano</u> (Milan, 1939)
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Rome, Villa Borghese	Venturi, L., <u>Il Museo e la Villa Borghese</u> (Rome, 1893)
Vatican, Library *	Bodart, Didier, <u>Dessins de la Collection Thomas Ashby à la Bibliothèque Vaticane</u> (Vatican, 1975)
London, NG	Levey, Michael, <u>National Gallery Catalogues: The Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Italian Schools</u> (London, 1971)

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ADDITIONAL PLATES

- A. Engraving by Carlo Lasinio after Jacob More,
Self-Portrait, 1783

22.7 x 17.1cm.

Scottish National Portrait Gallery.

- B. Robert Norie, Landscape with a Waterfall and
Castellated Ruins

Oil on canvas, 175 x 107cm.

Coll. His Grace the Duke of Hamilton.

- C. Jacob More, A Rocky Landscape

Green & brown wash over pencil, 24.9 x 37.4cm,
signed.

National Gallery of Scotland, D286.

- D. Jacob More, St. Anthony's Chapel, Edinburgh

Ochre & brown wash over pencil, 23.5 x 37.2cm,
signed.

National Gallery of Scotland, D290.

- E. Jacob More, Landscape with a Bridge

Green & brown wash over pencil, 24.2 x 36.9cm,
signed.

National Gallery of Scotland, D287.

- F. Jacob More, Inveresk

Brown wash over pencil, 24.2 x 34.2cm, inscribed
with artist's name.

National Gallery of Scotland, D5016.

- G. Jacob More, Cliffs and Sea

Brown wash over pencil, 24.9 x 37.4cm.

National Gallery of Scotland, D286

- H. Jacob More, Dumbarton
Grey wash over pen, 15.7 x 34.4cm, signed.
National Gallery of Scotland, D3825.
- I. Jacob More, A Classical Landscape with Figures
Wash heightened with white over pencil on
prepared ochre paper, 31.0 x 24.5cm.
National Gallery of Scotland, D2287.
- J. Jacob More, Woodland Landscape
Brown & grey wash over pencil, 34.5 x 46.0cm.
National Gallery of Scotland, D283.
- K. Jacob More, Roman Soldiers and a child standing
round a fire in the moonlight
Pen, ink & wash heightened with white on prepared
ochre paper, 25.0 x 32.1cm, signed.
National Gallery of Scotland, D2341.
- L. Jacob More, Stonebyres Linn
Pen, ink & wash heightened with white on prepared
green paper, 26.2 x 32.9cm.
National Gallery of Scotland, RSA 372.
- M. Charles Steuart, Black Lynn Fall on the Bran
Oil on canvas, size unknown.
Coll. His Grace the Duke of Atholl.
- N. Claude-Joseph Vernet, Landscape with a Waterfall,
1746
Oil on canvas, size unknown.
Coll. His Grace the Duke of Buccleuch & Queensferry.
- O. Jacob More, Roslin Castle
Oil on canvas, 73 x 90cm.
Coll. The Rt. Hon. the Earl of Wemyss & March.

- P. Jacob More, Roslin Castle
Ink over pencil, 29.7 x 50.4cm.
National Gallery of Scotland, RSA 1297.
- Q. Engraving by B.A.Dunker after Philipp Hackert,
Vue du village de Licenza, 1782
Courtauld Institute Print Collection.
- R. Philipp Hackert, Landscape, 1780
Oil on canvas, 166 x 218cm, signed & dated.
Coll. the Marquess of Bristol, Ickworth.
- S. Jacob More, Naples and Posillipo
Ink & watercolour over pencil, 51.7 x 72.5cm.
Yale Center for British Art.
- T.. Jacob More, A View at Terracina
Ink & watercolour over pencil, 40.7 x 54.6cm.
Yale Center for British Art.
- U. (?) Jacob More & Richard Cooper, Mountain
Landscape with Ruined Building
Watercolour over pencil, 26 x 36.2cm.
Victoria & Albert Museum, Dept. of Prints & Drawings.
- V. Alexander Nasmyth, Loch Tay with Kenmore Church
and Bridge, 1810
Oil on canvas, 87.5 x 120.5cm, signed & dated.
Coll. W. Stewart Fotheringham, Dunkeld.
- W. Thomas Wyck, Vesuvius in Eruption
Oil on canvas, 58 x 48cm.
Coll. R.Causa, Naples.

X. Philip James de Loutherbourg, Coalbrookdale
at Night, 1801

Oil on canvas, 68.0 x 106.7cm, signed & dated.

Y. Joseph Wright of Derby, Vesuvius in Eruption

Oil on canvas, 124.4 x 180.3cm.

Private collection.

Additional information, 1982

To pp.379 (note 1), 483

Andrew, Patricia R., 'An English Garden in Rome', Country Life, 169 (1981), 1136-8.

To Chapter Four b. (pp.93-8)

A painting probably by More, attributed without provenance to George Barret Snr., was on sale at Agnews 1981 - An Extensive River Landscape, oil on canvas, 136.2 x 192.8 cms. It shows rocks with trees left; a calm river receding to the distance centre; hills, figures and trees to foreground right; fire and smoke on the right-hand hill. The dimensions are of More's largest size; the composition, handling and colour are all typical of his style (orange tints have been added to the trees at a later date). The figures are similar to those in the Falls of Clyde series and the early Italian landscapes such as The Good Samaritan, and it thus belongs to the period 1773 - 80.

To p.132 or to note 16 of that page

Richard Verdi's article 'Poussin's "Deluge": the Aftermath', Burlington, CXXIII, 940 (1981), 389-400.

To p.189 or note 28 of that page

The model of the Temple at Tivoli is catalogued in the British Museum as BM 1770-12-1, donated by the Earl of Exeter; its present whereabouts are unknown.

To pp.236-7

A Self-Portrait of an artist, attributed without provenance to A. Nasmyth, entitled An artist at an easel with his family in an interior, was sold at Christies in 1981 (30-1 July, lot 344). It is a small-scale work (22.2 x 30.5 cms) on panel, very similar in both composition and style to the possible caricature of More by Allan.

LIST OF PLATES

1. (Frontispiece) Jacob More, Self-Portrait, 1783
Oil on canvas, 198 x 174.5cm, signed & dated 1783.
Uffizi Gallery, Florence, 1890-1929.
2. Jacob More, Salisbury Crags and St. Anthony's Chapel, Edinburgh
Brown & grey wash over pencil, 32.8 x 51.3cm, signed.
National Gallery of Scotland, D285.
3. William Delacour, Manor House with Stables and Outhouses, 1748
Watercolour over pencil, 19.9 x 25.6cm, signed & dated 1748.
National Gallery of Scotland, D98.
4. Jacob More, Craigmillar Castle, Edinburgh
Ink & grey wash, 13.3 x 25.9cm, title & artist's name inscribed
on reverse.
National Gallery of Scotland, D4448.
5. Jacob More, Loch Lomond from Luss
Ink & grey wash over pencil, 20.1 x 34.4cm, inscribed with
title & artist's name.
National Gallery of Scotland, D4449.
6. Jacob More, Classical Landscape with Figures
Wash heightened with white over pencil on prepared ochre
paper, 31.4 x 26.5cm, border inscribed with artist's name.
National Gallery of Scotland, D291.
7. Jacob More, Stageset Design: A Flour Mill
Brown wash over black chalk, 36.4 x 54.2cm.
National Gallery of Scotland, D284.
8. Jacob More, Stageset Design: Wall of a Room
Ink & wash, 37 x 53.8 cm.
National Gallery of Scotland, D929.



ADDITIONAL PLATES

- A. Engraving by Carlo Lasinio after Jacob More,
Self-Portrait, 1783

22.7 x 17.1cm.

Scottish National Portrait Gallery.

- B. Robert Norie, Landscape with a Waterfall and
Castellated Ruins

Oil on canvas, 175 x 107cm..

Coll. His Grace the Duke of Hamilton.

- C. Jacob More, A Rocky Landscape

Green & brown wash over pencil, 24.9 x 37.4cm,
signed.

National Gallery of Scotland, D286.

- D. Jacob More, St. Anthony's Chapel, Edinburgh

Ochre & brown wash over pencil, 23.5 x 37.2cm,
signed.

National Gallery of Scotland, D290.

- E. Jacob More, Landscape with a Bridge

Green & brown wash over pencil, 24.2 x 36.9cm,
signed.

National Gallery of Scotland, D287.

- F. Jacob More, Inveresk

Brown wash over pencil, 24.2 x 34.2cm, inscribed
with artist's name.

National Gallery of Scotland, D5016.

- G. Jacob More, Cliffs and Sea

Brown wash over pencil, 24.9 x 37.4cm.

National Gallery of Scotland, D286

9. Jacob More, A Sacrifice
Ink & watercolour over pencil, 26.2 x 36.7cm.
National Gallery of Scotland, D293.
10. (?) William Delacour, Landscape with Fountain
Gouache, 24.9 x 38.9cm.
National Gallery of Scotland, D289.
11. Jacob More, Figures round a Fire
Watercolour heightened with white on prepared ochre paper,
43 x 36.5 cm.
National Gallery of Scotland, RSA 494.
12. Jacob More, Scene of Martyrdom with Roman Soldiers
Ink & wash heightened with white on prepared ochre paper,
23.7 x 31.1cm.
National Gallery of Scotland, D2340.
13. Jacob More, Figures outside a Cave
Ink & gouache on prepared ochre paper, 32.8 x 26.5cm.
National Gallery of Scotland, RSA 486.
14. Jacob More, The Falls of Clyde: Corra Linn I
Oil on canvas, 79 x 100cm.
Private American collection.
15. Jacob More, The Falls of Clyde: Corra Linn II
Oil on canvas, 79.4 x 100.4cm.
National Gallery of Scotland, 1897.
16. Jacob More, The Falls of Clyde: Corra Linn II
Colour version of Plate 15.
17. Jacob More, The Falls of Clyde: Stonebyres Linn I
Oil on canvas, 81 x 101.5cm.
Tate Gallery, T601.

- H. Jacob More, Dumbarton
Grey wash over pen, 15.7 x 34.4cm, signed.
National Gallery of Scotland, D3825.
- I. Jacob More, A Classical Landscape with Figures
Wash heightened with white over pencil on
prepared ochre paper, 31.0 x 24.5cm.
National Gallery of Scotland, D2287.
- J. Jacob More, Woodland Landscape
Brown & grey wash over pencil, 34.5 x 46.0cm.
National Gallery of Scotland, D283.
- K. Jacob More, Roman Soldiers and a child standing
round a fire in the moonlight
Pen, ink & wash heightened with white on prepared
ochre paper, 25.0 x 32.1cm, signed.
National Gallery of Scotland, D2341.
- L. Jacob More, Stonebyres Linn
Pen, ink & wash heightened with white on prepared
green paper, 26.2 x 32.9cm.
National Gallery of Scotland, RSA 372.
- M. Charles Steuart, Black Lynn Fall on the Bran
Oil on canvas, size unknown.
Coll. His Grace the Duke of Atholl.
- N. Claude-Joseph Vernet, Landscape with a Waterfall,
1746
Oil on canvas, size unknown.
Coll. His Grace the Duke of Buccleuch & Queensferry.
- O. Jacob More, Roslin Castle
Oil on canvas, 73 x 90cm.
Coll. The Rt. Hon. the Earl of Wemyss & March.

18. Jacob More, The Falls of Clyde: Stonebyres Linn II
Oil on canvas, 85 x 100cm.
Sold Spink, 1966.

19. Jacob More, The Falls of Clyde: Bonnington Linn (?II)
Oil on canvas, 70.5 x 90.2cm.
Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, 7.

20. Colour photograph of Corra Linn from the left bank of the Clyde, 1979.

21. Colour photograph of Bonnington Linn from the left bank of the Clyde, 1979.

22. Jacob More, Neidpath Castle
Oil on canvas, 61 x 76cm, signed and inscribed with title on reverse.
Private British collection.

23. Jacob More, Shepherdess with her Flock sheltering from a Storm
Oil on canvas, 76.2 x 97.8cm.
Coll. James Holloway.

24. Jacob More, Distant View of Rome
Oil on canvas, 77.3 x 105.8cm.
Art Gallery of South Australia, Adelaide.

25. Jacob More, View of Horace's Villa
Watercolour over pencil, 36.1 x 50.3cm.
Coll. James Holloway.

26. Photograph of Licenza from the site of Horace's Villa, 1980.

27. Jacob More, Landscape with Classical Figures, 1780.
Oil on canvas, 142 x 198cm, signed and dated 1780.
Coll. the Marquess of Bristol, Ickworth.

- P. Jacob More, Roslin Castle
Ink over pencil, 29.7 x 50.4cm.
National Gallery of Scotland, RSA 1297.
- Q. Engraving by B.A.Dunker after Philipp Hackert,
Vue du village de Licenza, 1782

Courtauld Institute Print Collection.
- R. Philipp Hackert, Landscape, 1780
Oil on canvas, 166 x 218cm, signed & dated.
Coll. the Marquess of Bristol, Ickworth.
- S. Jacob More, Naples and Posillipo
Ink & watercolour over pencil, 51.7 x 72.5cm.
Yale Center for British Art.
- T. Jacob More, A View at Terracina
Ink & watercolour over pencil, 40.7 x 54.6cm.
Yale Center for British Art.
- U. (?) Jacob More & Richard Cooper, Mountain
Landscape with Ruined Building
Watercolour over pencil, 26 x 36.2cm.
Victoria & Albert Museum, Dept. of Prints & Drawings.
- V. Alexander Nasmyth, Loch Tay with Kenmore Church
and Bridge, 1810
Oil on canvas, 87.5 x 120.5cm, signed & dated.
Coll. W. Stewart Fotheringham, Dunkeld.
- W. Thomas Wyck, Vesuvius in Eruption
Oil on canvas, 58 x 48cm.
Coll. R.Causa, Naples.

28. Jacob More, Cicero's Villa
Watercolour over ink, 35 x 50cm.
Sold Martyn Gregory, 1977.
29. Jacob More, Distant View of Rome
Oil on canvas, 94 x 132cm.
Coll. Mrs. Langford-Brooke.
30. Jacob More, View of Tivoli
Oil on canvas, 94 x 132cm.
Coll. Mrs. Langford-Brooke.
31. Jacob More, Tiber Estuary, 1784
Oil on canvas, 99 x 140cm, signed & dated 1784.
St. Catherine's College, Cambridge.
32. Jacob More, Evening, 1785
Oil on canvas, 152 x 203cm, signed & dated 1785.
Glasgow Art Gallery & Museum, 3317.
33. Jacob More, Evening, 1785
Detail in colour of Plate 32.
34. Jacob More, Morning, 1785
Oil on canvas, 152 x 203cm, signed & dated 1785.
Glasgow Art Gallery & Museum, 3316.
35. Jacob More, Morning, 1785
Detail in colour of Plate 34.
36. Jacob More, Rape of Deianera, 1786
Oil on board, 100.4 x 137cm, signed & dated 1786.
Private British collection.
37. Jacob More, Rest on the Flight, 1786
Oil on board, 100.4 x 137cm.
Private British collection.

- X. Philip James de Loutherbourg, Coalbrookdale
at Night, 1801
Oil on canvas, 68.0 x 106.7cm, signed & dated.
- Y. Joseph Wright of Derby, Vesuvius in Eruption
Oil on canvas, 124.4 x 180.3cm.
Private collection.

38. Jacob More, Roman Lake Scene with figures and cattle, 1787
Oil on canvas, 63.3 x 79.8cm, signed & dated 1787.
Sold Christie, 1952.
39. Jacob More, Capriccio Italian River Landscape, 1790
Oil on canvas, 147 x 203cm, signed & dated 1790.
Private British collection.
40. Jacob More, Italian River Landscape, 1791
Oil on canvas, 98.8 x 148.5cm, signed & dated 1791.
Sold Christie, 1926.
41. (?) Jacob More, Italian Lake Scene
Oil on canvas, 75 x 100 cm.
Private Swiss collection.
42. Jacob More, Tivoli
Watercolour over pencil, 35 x 49cm, signed & inscribed on mount.
Coll. James Holloway.
43. Jacob More, At Tivoli
Watercolour over pencil, 35 x 49cm.
Sold Sotheby, 1975.
44. Jacob More, The Bay of Naples from Vesuvius, 1784
Brown wash over pencil, 35.5 x 50cm, signed & dated 1784 on mount.
Witt collection, 320.
45. Jacob More, The Temple of Minerva Medica
Watercolour over ink, 37 x 49.3cm.
Aberdeen Art Gallery.
46. Jacob More, Mountain Landscape
Watercolour over pencil, 35.5 x 49cm.
Sold Spink, 1979.

47. Jacob More, View of the Vatican
Ink & watercolour over pencil, 21.3 x 28.5cm.
National Gallery of Scotland, D868.

48. Jacob More, Rome from the Monte Mario
Ink & watercolour over pencil, 45.6 x 58.2cm.
British Museum, 1890-5-12-123(2).

49. Jacob More, Catania and Mount Etna
Grey wash over pencil, 24.3 x 37.3cm, inscribed with title.
National Gallery of Scotland, D863.

50. Jacob More, Roman Capriccio: the Colosseum and the Tiber
Brown & grey wash over pencil, 33 x 48cm.
Museo di Roma, 6493.

51. Jacob More, River Landscape and Towered Bridge with Figures
Grey wash over black chalk, 21.8x31.4cm.
National Gallery of Scotland, RSA 501.

52. Jacob More, Lake of Nemi with Figures Hunting
Grey wash over pencil & black chalk, 21.9 x 31.4cm.
National Gallery of Scotland, RSA 445.

53. (?) Abraham Louis Ducros, View of Vicovaro
Watercolour over ink, 34.4 x 48.3cm.
National Gallery of Scotland, D5014.

54. Engraving by Francesco Morel after Jacob More,
Moon Light. Diana and Nymphs Bathing, 1787
42.5 x 57.9cm, inscribed with the names of the artist
& engraver, dedicated to Lord Bristol.
National Gallery of Scotland.

55. Jacob More, Landscape with Argus Guarding Io (after Claude)
Oil on canvas, 48 x 59cm.
Private British collection.

56. Page from Jacob More's Manuscript Letterbook
Part of a draft letter to Sir George Beaumont, 1787,
giving instructions on the colouring of landscapes.
Edinburgh University Library, Laing MSS, IV 25, f.73.

57. Jacob More, Falls of Tivoli, 1790
Detail of Plate 66.

58. Jacob More, Shepherdess with her Flock sheltering from a Storm
Detail of Plate 23.

59. (?) Alexander Nasmyth, Rest on the Flight
Oil on canvas, 39 x 53cm.
Private British collection.

60. Thomas Patch, Cascade near Terni, 1764
Oil on canvas, 120.3 x 87cm, signed & dated 1764.
National Museum of Wales, 1145.

61. Jacob More, Falls of Tivoli
Oil on canvas, 73.7 x 99cm.
Private British collection.

62. Jacob More, Falls of Tivoli
Detail in colour of Plate 61.

63. Jacob More, Falls of Tivoli
Detail in colour of Plate 61.

64. Jacob More, Falls of Terni: Moonlight, 1788
Oil on canvas, 204 x 175cm.
Coll. the Earl Spencer, Althorp.

65. Jacob More, The Cascade of Tivoli at Sunset, 1788
Oil on canvas, 204 x 175 cm, signed & dated 1788.
Coll. the Earl Spencer, Althorp.

66. Jacob More, Falls of Tivoli, 1790
Oil on canvas, 147 x 203cm, signed & dated 1790.
Private British collection.

67. Jacob More, Falls of Tivoli, 1790
Detail of Plate 66.

68. (?) Jan Frans van Bloemen, The Falls of Terni
Oil on canvas, 180 x 118cm.
Sold Christie, 1967.

69. Jan Frans van Bloemen, Landscape with Waterfall
Oil on canvas, 93 x 155cm.
Doria-Pamphilj Gallery, Rome, 8.

70. Jacob More, Waterfall at Tivoli
Ink & brown wash over pencil, 47.4 x 37.1cm.
National Gallery of Scotland, D282.

71. Jacob More, View of the Inside of Neptune's Grotto, Tivoli
Ink & brown wash over pencil, 66 x 53.3cm.
National Gallery of Scotland, D281.

72. Jacob More, Cascade at Tivoli
Watercolour over pencil, 72.1 x 51.6cm.
National Gallery of Scotland, D5029.

73. Pierre-Jacques Volaire, Eruption of Vesuvius, 1782
Oil on canvas, 129 x 260cm, signed & dated 1782.
Museo di Capodimonte, Naples.

74. Jacob More, Mount Vesuvius in Eruption: the Last Days of Pompeii, 1780
Oil on canvas, 151 x 201cm, signed & dated 1780.
National Gallery of Scotland, 290.

75. Jacob More, Mount Vesuvius in Eruption: the Last Days of Pompeii
Detail in colour of Plate 74.
76. Print by W. Eyde after a painting by Jacob More,
Eruption of Vesuvius
77. David Allan, The Uncultivated Genius
Oil on metal, 23.9 x 18.15cm.
National Gallery of Scotland, 2126.
78. Jacob More, Apollo and Daphne
Grey & brown wash over black ink on prepared paper, 35.9 x 25.7cm.
Kunsthalle, Bremen, 37/241.
79. G.F.Venturini, Fountain in the Villa Borghese
End of seventeenth century.
80. C.Percier & P.F.L.Fontaine, Fountain in the Villa Borghese
End of eighteenth century.
81. Anonymous, Plan of the Villa Borghese, dated 1776
82. C.Percier & P.F.L.Fontaine, Plan of the Villa Borghese
End of eighteenth century.
83. Photograph of the Giardino Inglese in the Villa Borghese,
viewed south-eastwards from the lake, 1980
84. Photograph of the Giardino Inglese in the Villa Borghese,
viewed north-eastwards from the lake, 1980
85. Photograph of the Temple of Aesculapius in the Giardino
Inglese, Villa Borghese: front view, 1980
86. Photograph of the Temple of Aesculapius in the Giardino
Inglese, Villa Borghese: oblique view, 1980.

87. Photograph of an inlet in the lake of the Giardino Inglese, Villa Borghese
88. Visconte de Senonnes, The Temple of Aesculapius in the Giardino Inglese, Villa Borghese
Published 1820.
89. Photograph of the Tomb of Jacob More, Protestant Cemetery, Rome.
Carved by Vincenzo Pacetti, 1794.



A. Engraving by Carlo Lasinio after Jacob More,
Self-Portrait, 1783



B. Robert Norie, Landscape with a Waterfall and
 Castellated Ruins



2. Jacob More, Salisbury Crags and St. Anthony's Chapel, Edinburgh



C. Jacob More, A Rocky Landscape



D. Jacob More, St. Anthony's Chapel, Edinburgh



MSH. Black more hole
1748

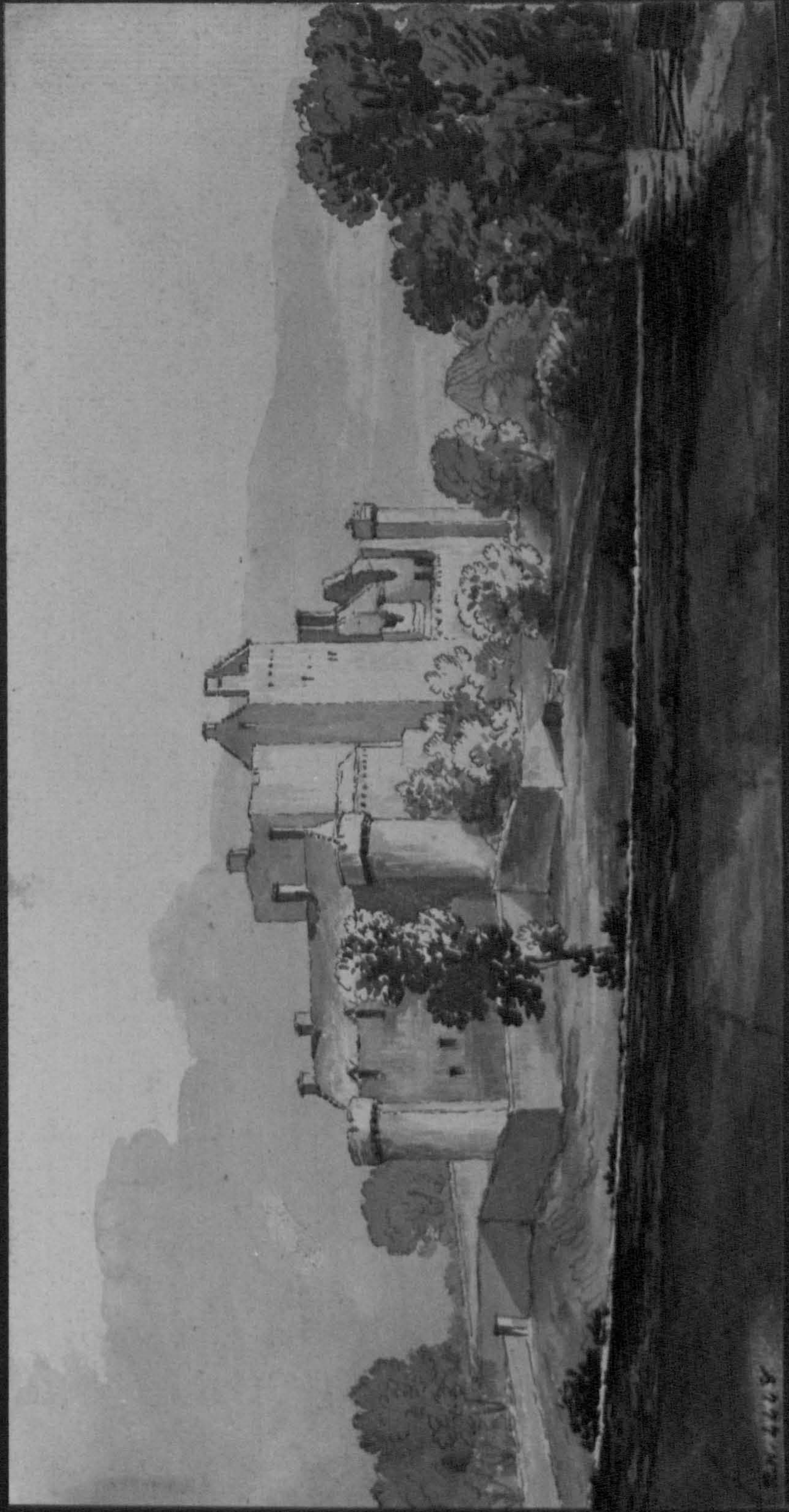
3. William Delacour, Manor House with Stables and Outhouses, 1748



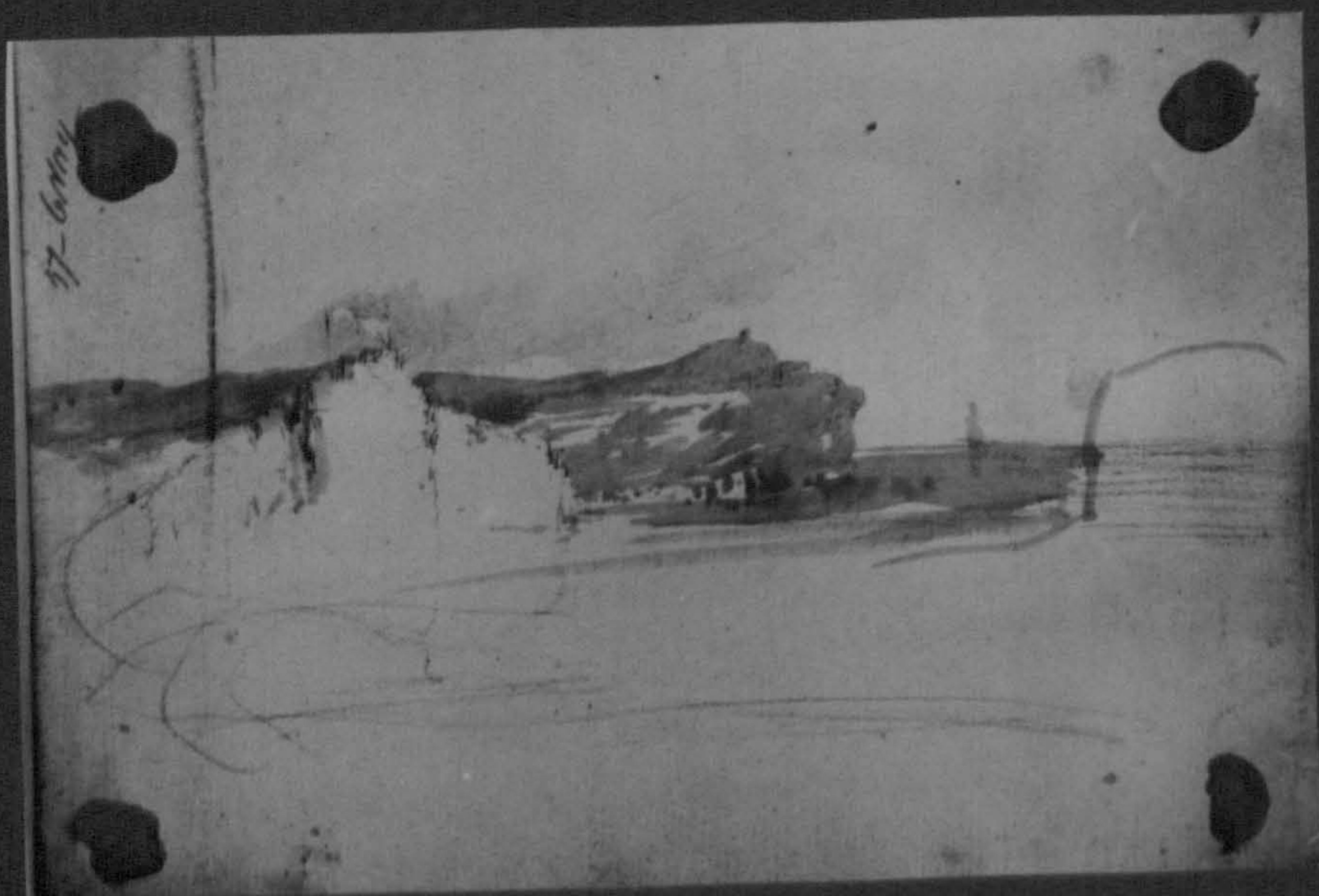
E. Jacob More, Landscape with a Bridge



F. Jacob More, Inveresk



4. Jacob More, Craigmillar Castle, Edinburgh



G. Jacob More, Cliffs and Sea



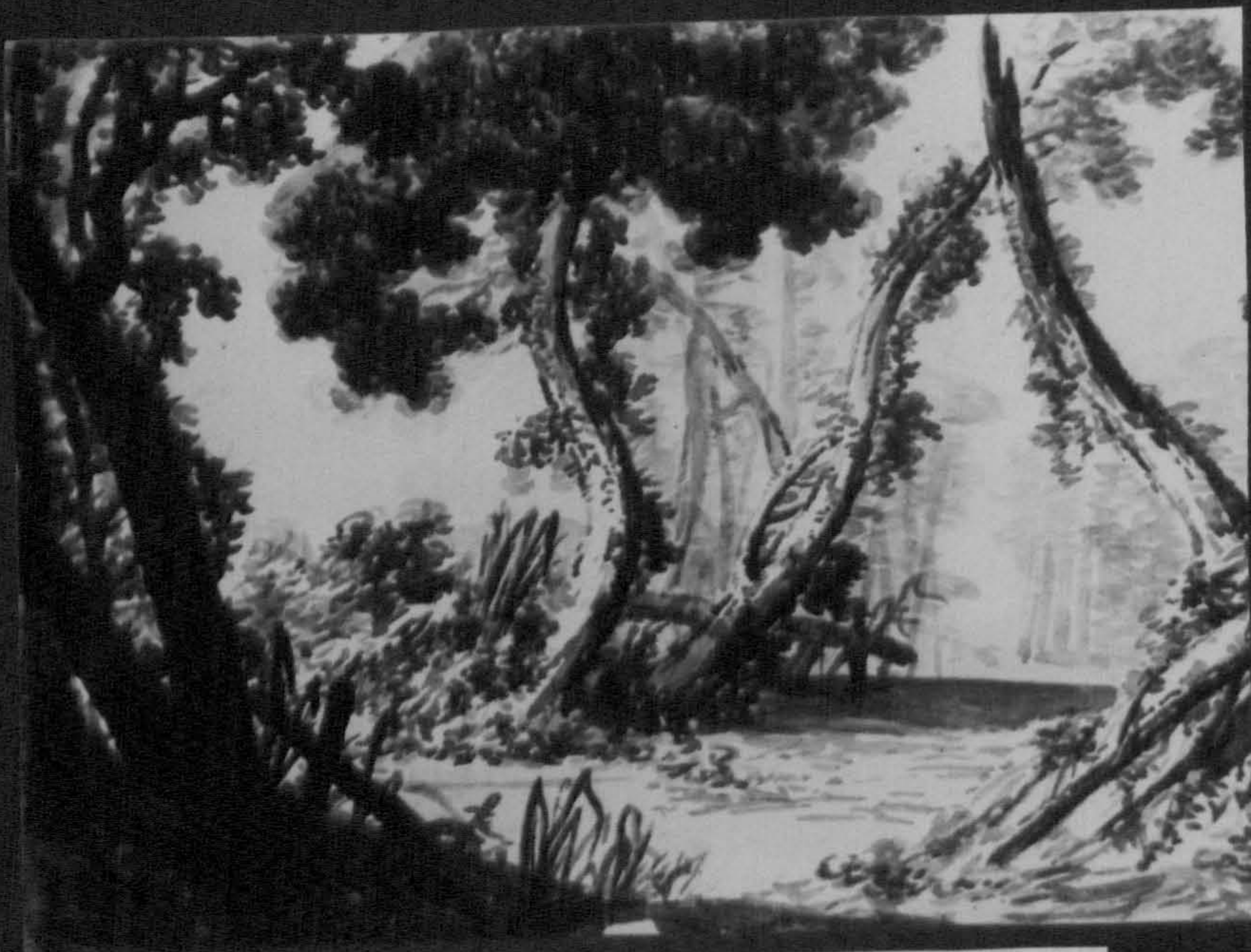
H. Jacob More, Dumbarton



5. Jacob More, Loch Lomond from Luss



I. Jacob More, A Classical Landscape with Figures



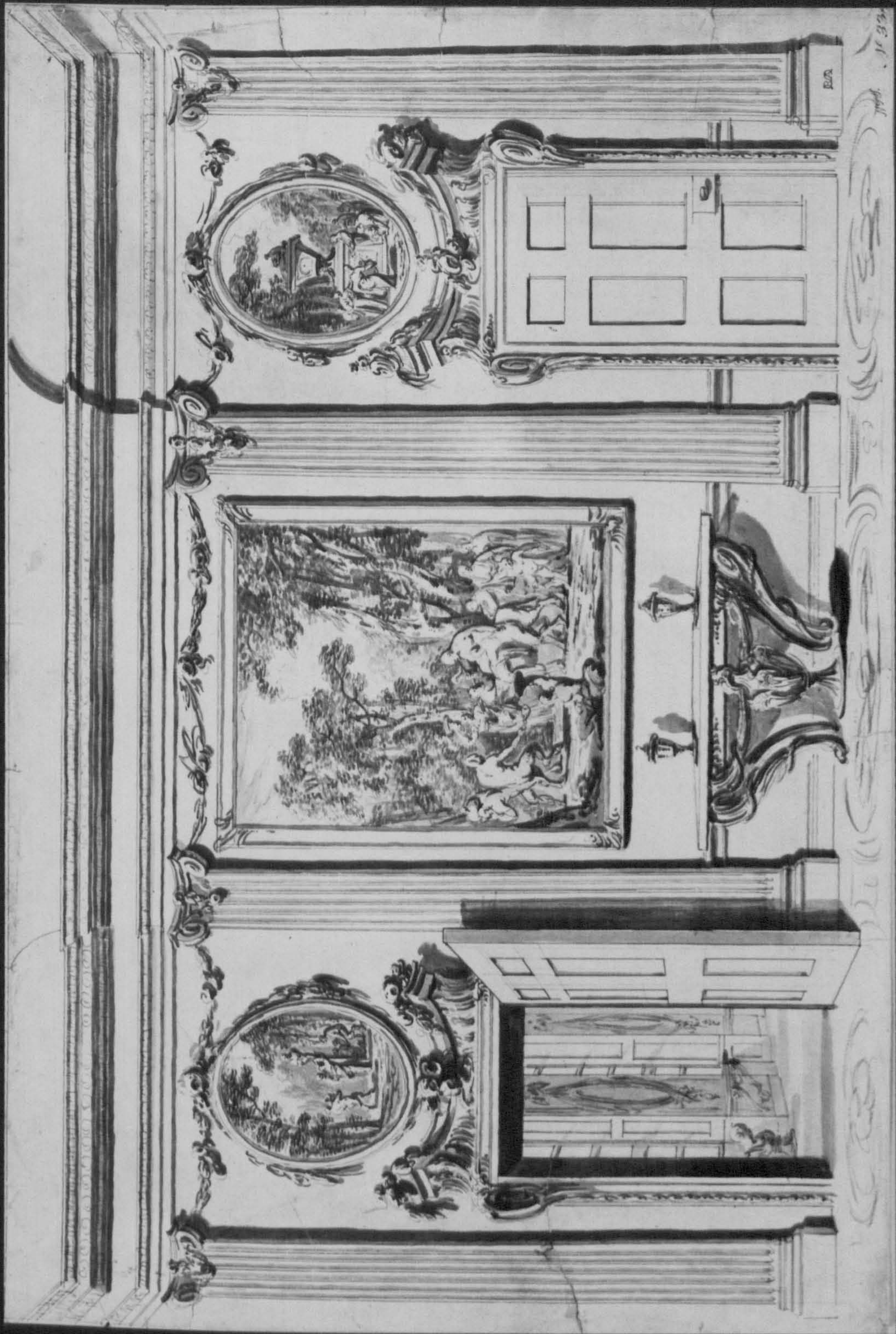
J. Jacob More, Woodland Landscape



6. Jacob More, Classical Landscape with Figures



7. Jacob More, Stageset Design: A Flour Mill



8. Jacob More, Stageset Design: Wall of a Room



9. Jacob More, A Sacrifice



10. (?) William Delacour, Landscape with Fountain



K. Jacob More, Roman Soldiers and a child standing
round a fire in the moonlight



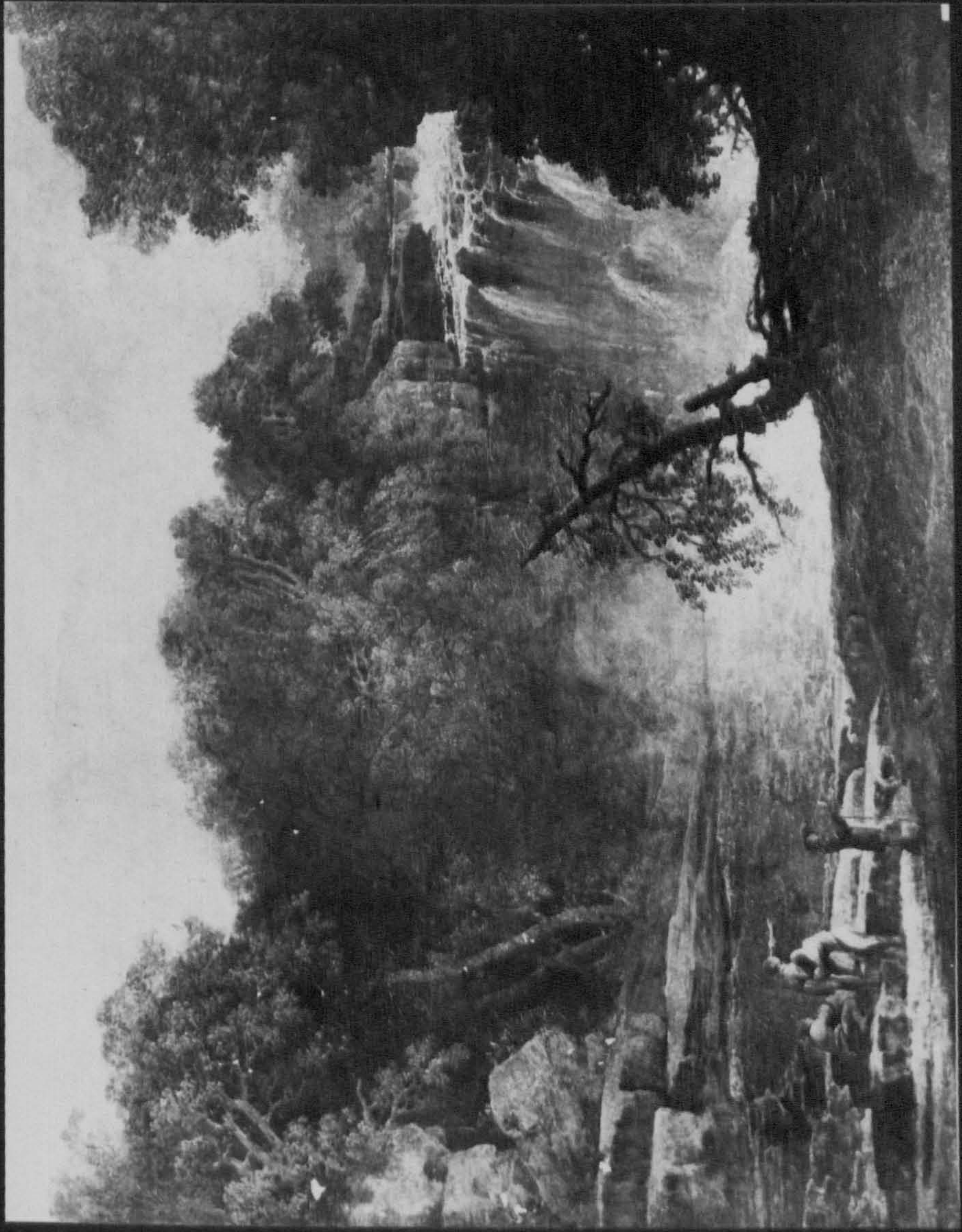
11. Jacob More, Figures round a Fire



12. Jacob More, Scene of Martyrdom with Roman Soldiers



13. Jacob More, Figures outside a Cave



14. Jacob More, The Falls of Clyde: Corra Linn I



15. Jacob More, The Falls of Clyde: Corra Linn II



16. Jacob More, The Falls of Clyde: Corra Linn II

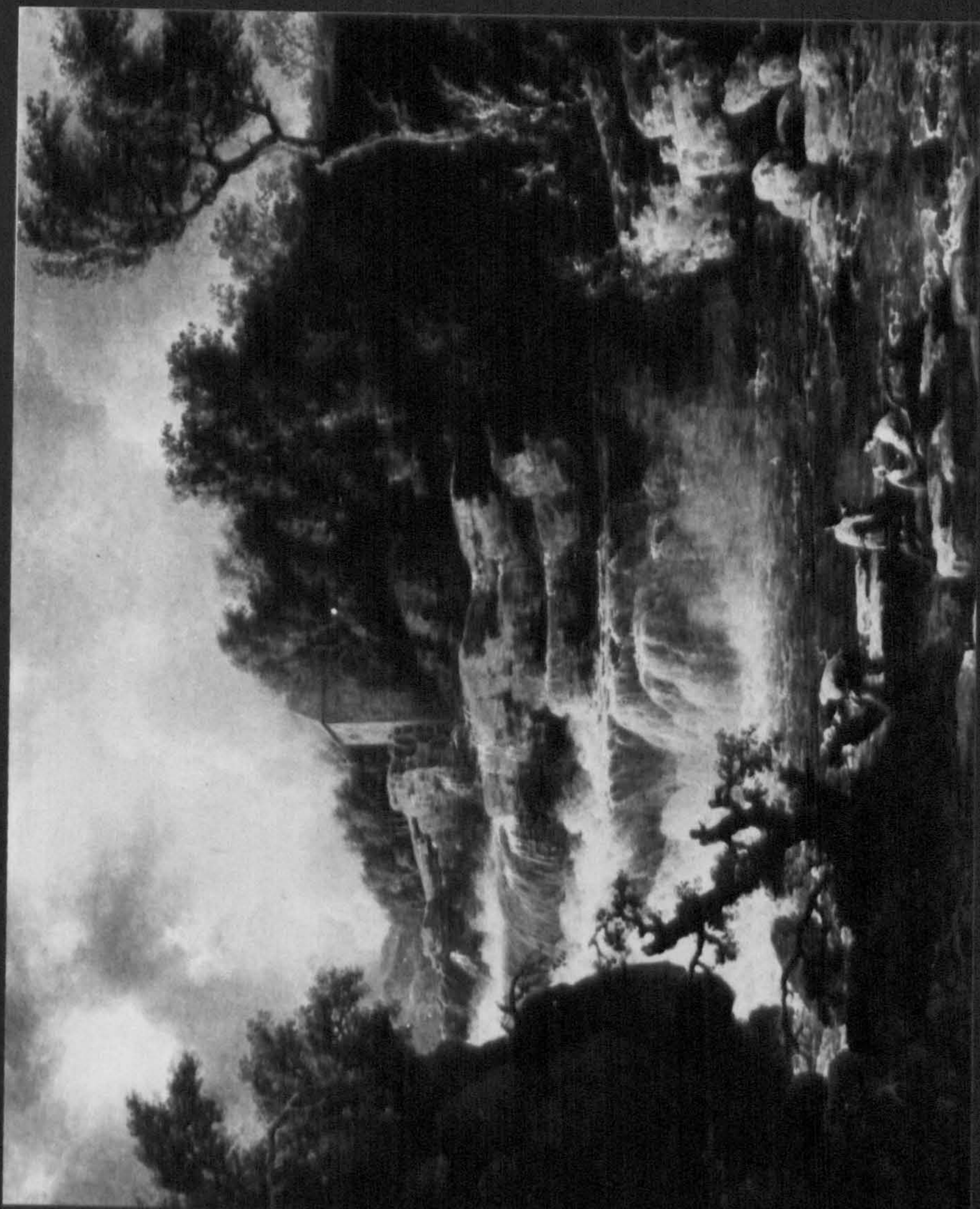
Colour version of Plate 15.



L. Jacob More, Stonebyres Linn



17. Jacob More, The Falls of Clyde: Stonebyres Linn I



18. Jacob More, The Falls of Clyde: Stonebyres Linn II



19. Jacob More, The Falls of Clyde: Bonnington Linn (?II)



M. Charles Steuart, Black Lynn Fall on the Bran (detail)



N. Claude-Joseph Vernet, Landscape with a Waterfall, 1746



20. Colour photograph of Corra Linn from the left bank of the Clyde, 1979.



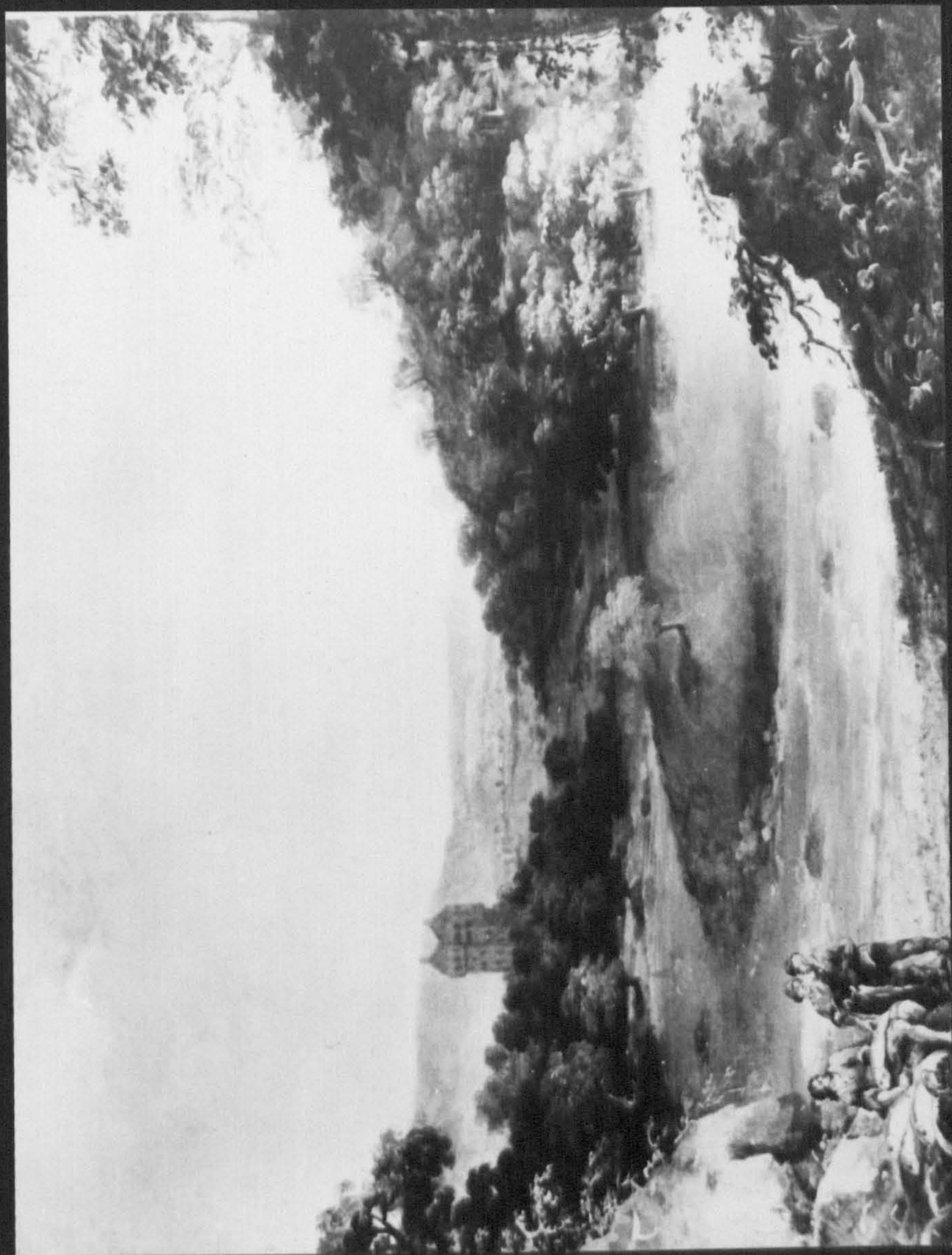
21. Colour photograph of Bonnington Linn from the left bank of the Clyde, 1979.



O. Jacob More, Roslin Castle



P. Jacob More, Roslin Castle



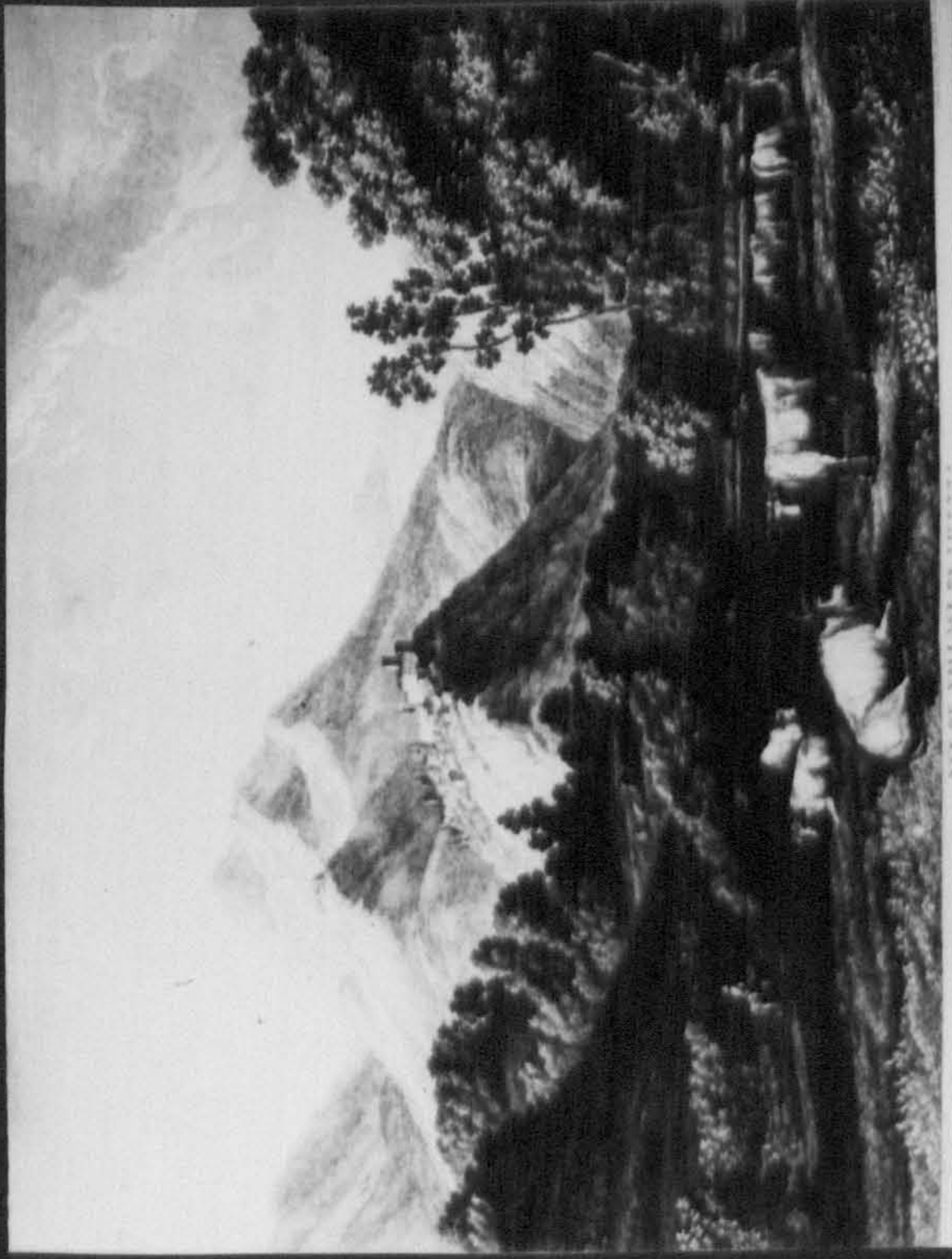
22. Jacob More, Neidpath Castle



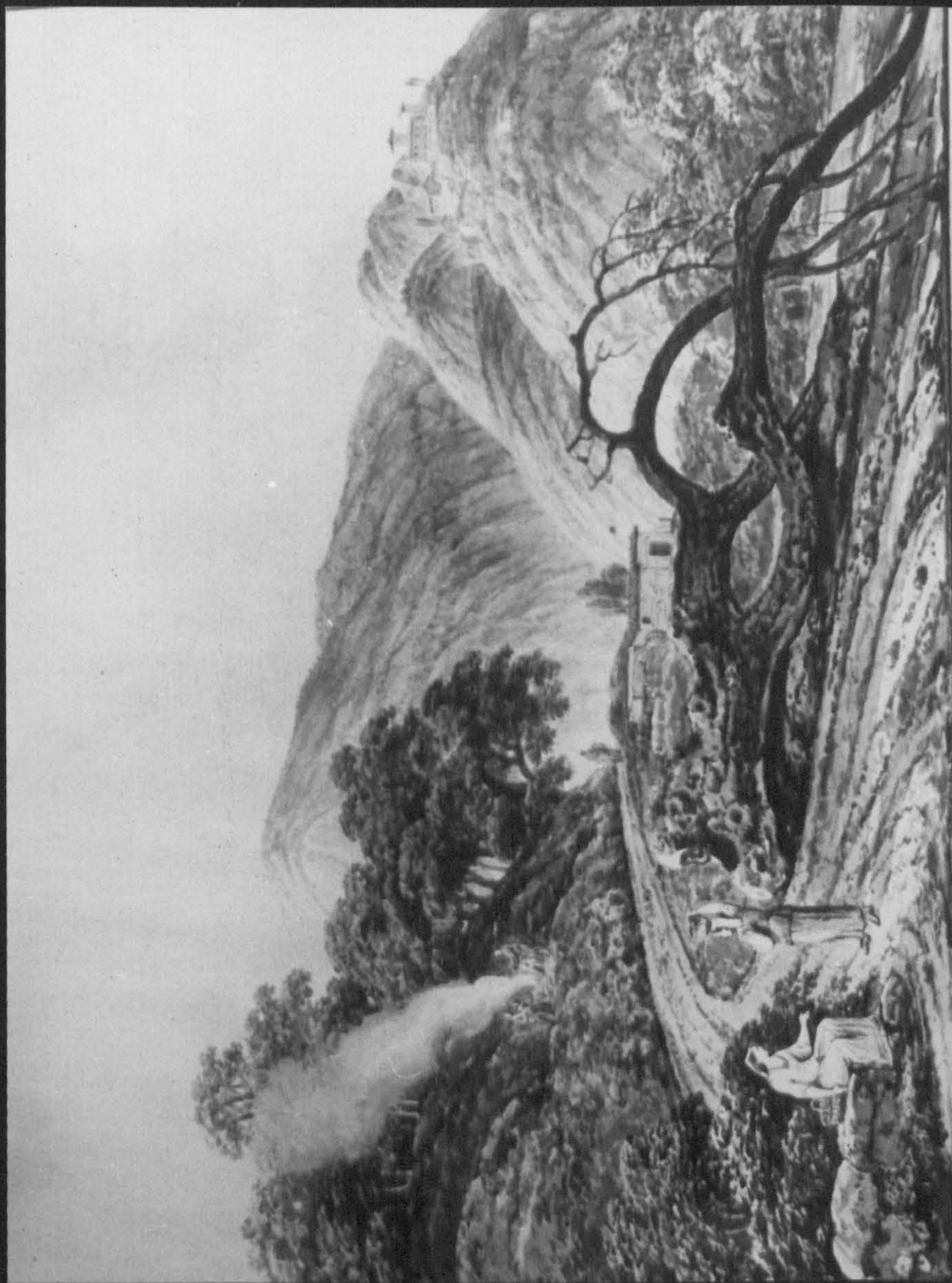
23. Jacob More, Shepherdess with her Flock sheltering from a Storm



24. Jacob More, Distant View of Rome



Q. Engraving by B.A.Dunker after Philipp Hackert,
Vue du village de Licenza, 1782



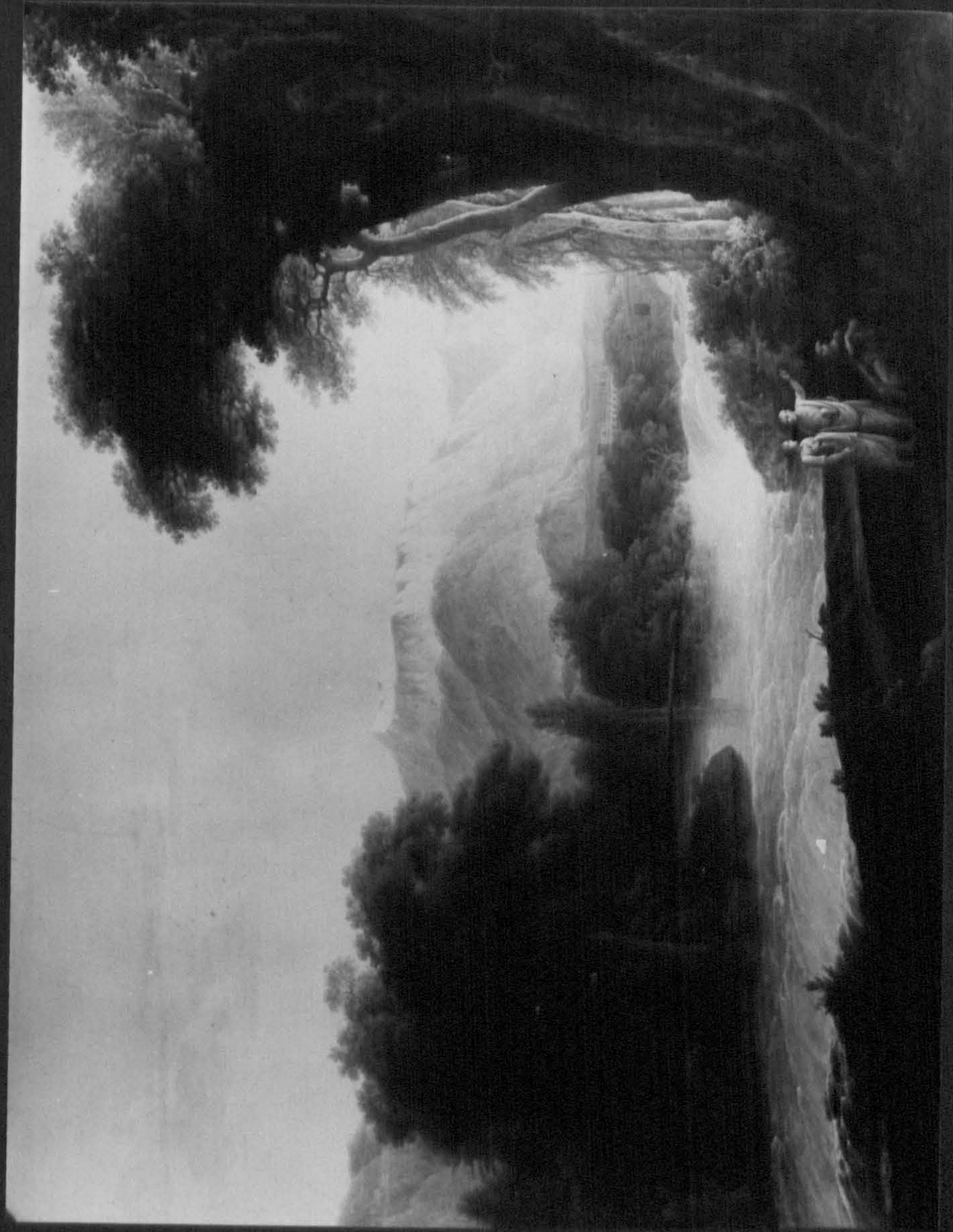
25. Jacob More, View of Horace's Villa



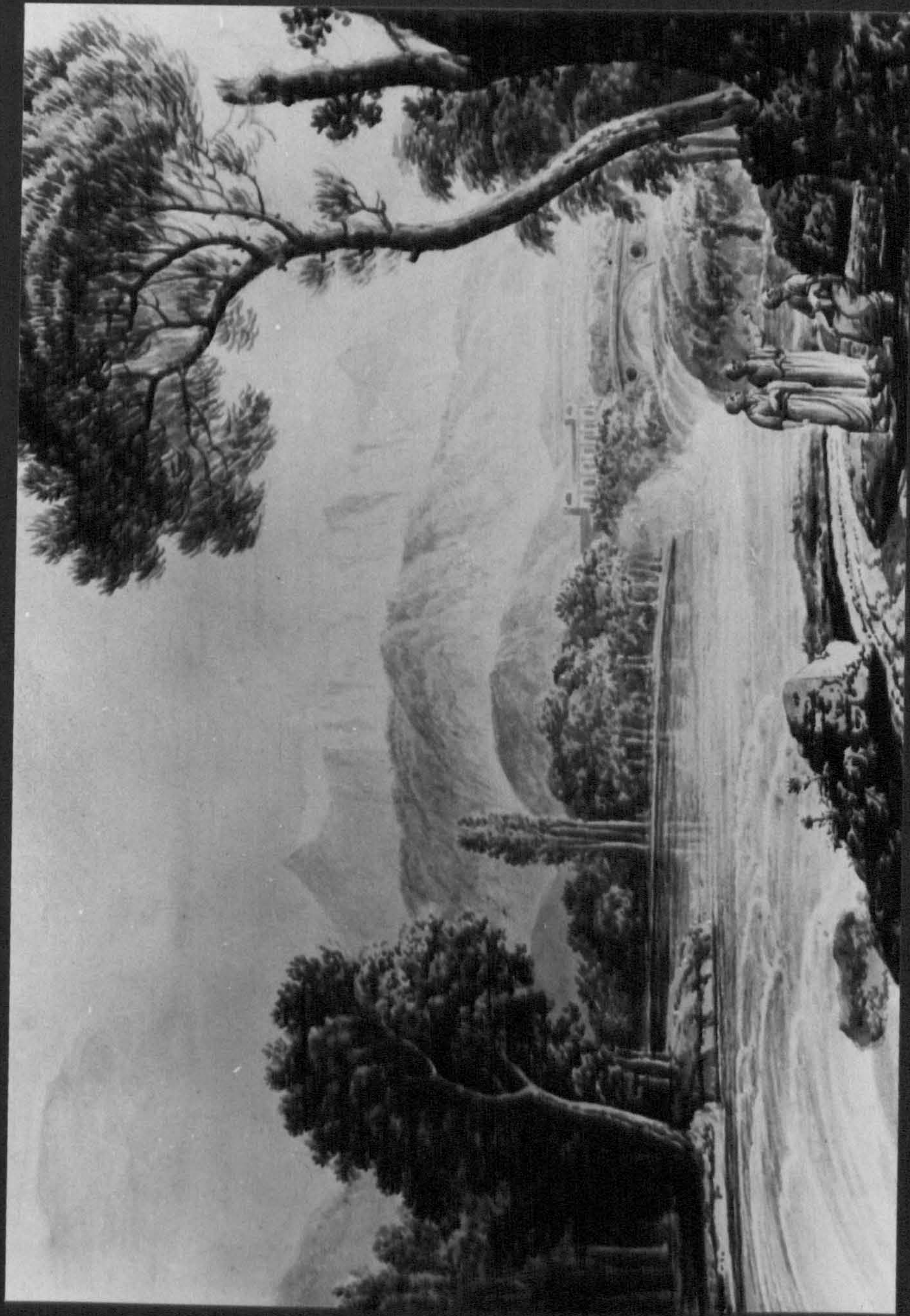
26. Photograph of Licenza from the site of Horace's Villa, 1980.



R. Philipp Hackert, Landscape, 1780



27. Jacob More, Landscape with Classical Figures, 1780.



28. Jacob More, Cicero's Villa



29. Jacob More, Distant View of Rome



30. Jacob More, View of Tivoli



31. Jacob More, Tiber Estuary, 1784



32. Jacob More, Evening, 1785



33. Jacob More, Evening, 1785.
Detail in colour of Plate 32.



34. Jacob More, Morning, 1785



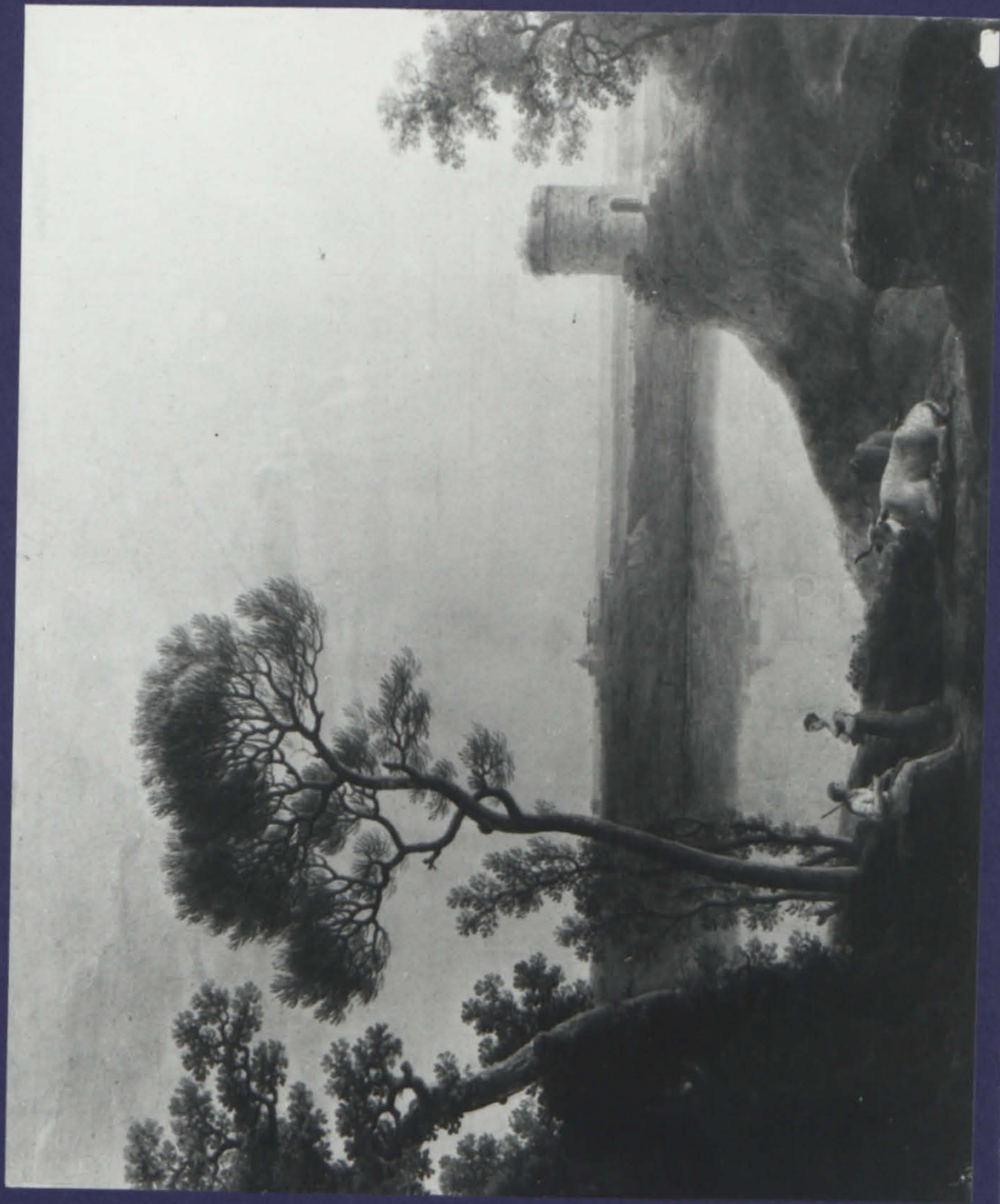
35. Jacob More, Morning, 1785
Detail in colour of Plate 34.



36. Jacob More, Rape of Deianera, 1786



37. Jacob More, Rest on the Flight, 1786



38. Jacob More, Roman Lake Scene with figures and cattle, 1787



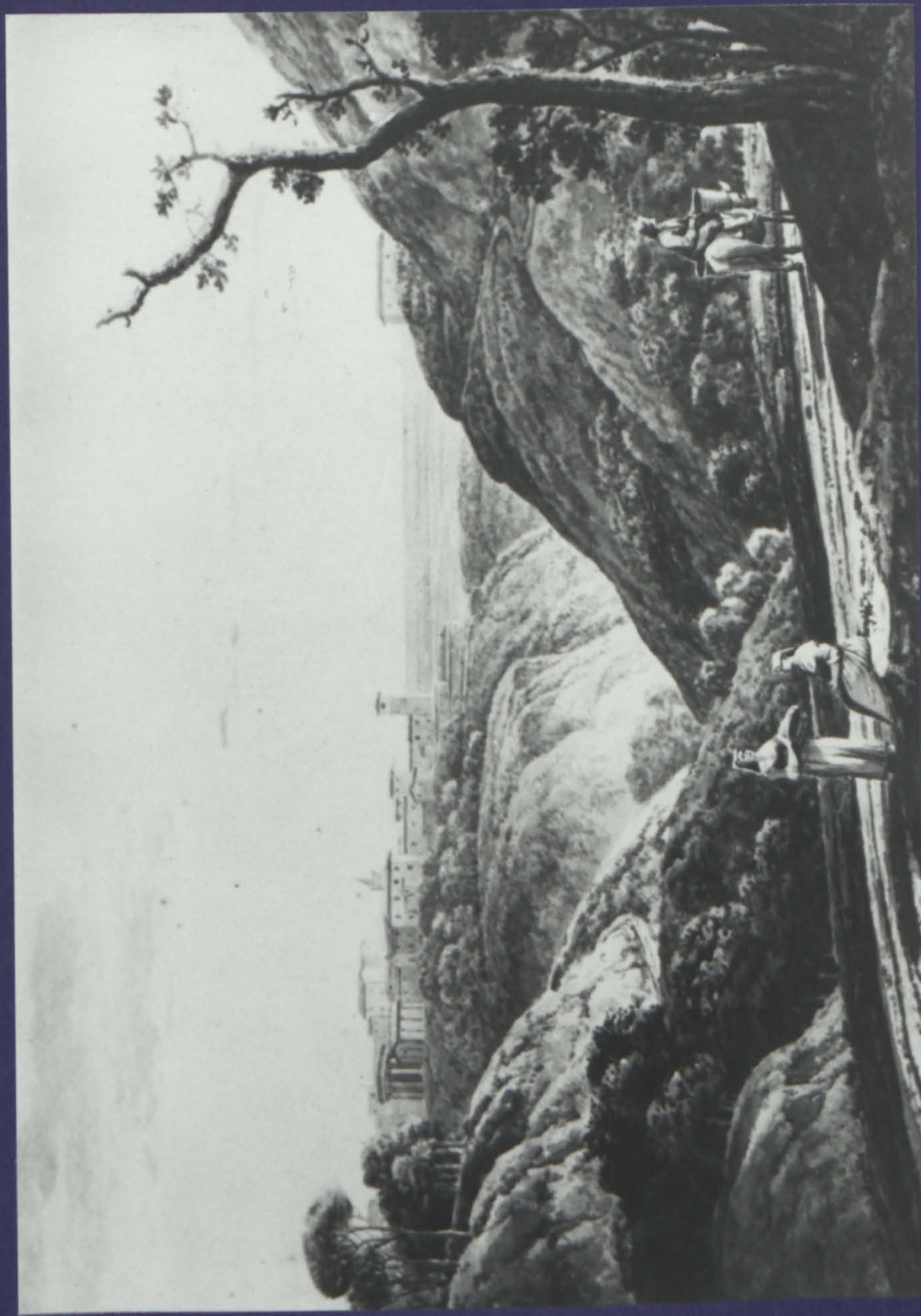
39. Jacob More, Capriccio Italian River Landscape, 1790



40. Jacob More, Italian River Landscape, 1791



41. (?) Jacob More, Italian Lake Scene



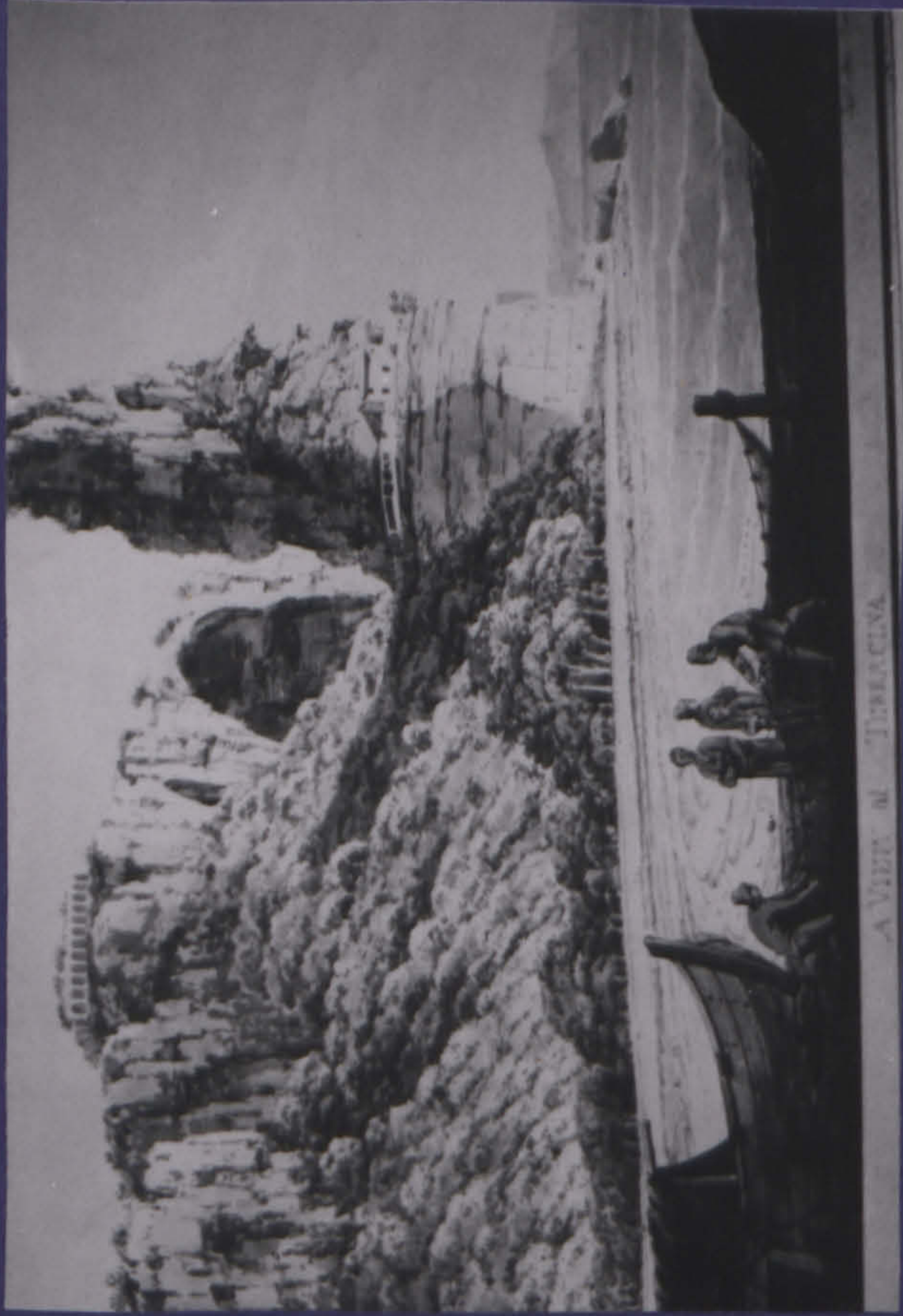
42. Jacob More, Tivoli



S. Jacob More, Naples and Posillipo



44. Jacob More, The Bay of Naples from Vesuvius, 1784



T. Jacob More, A View at Terracina



45. Jacob More, The Temple of Minerva Medica



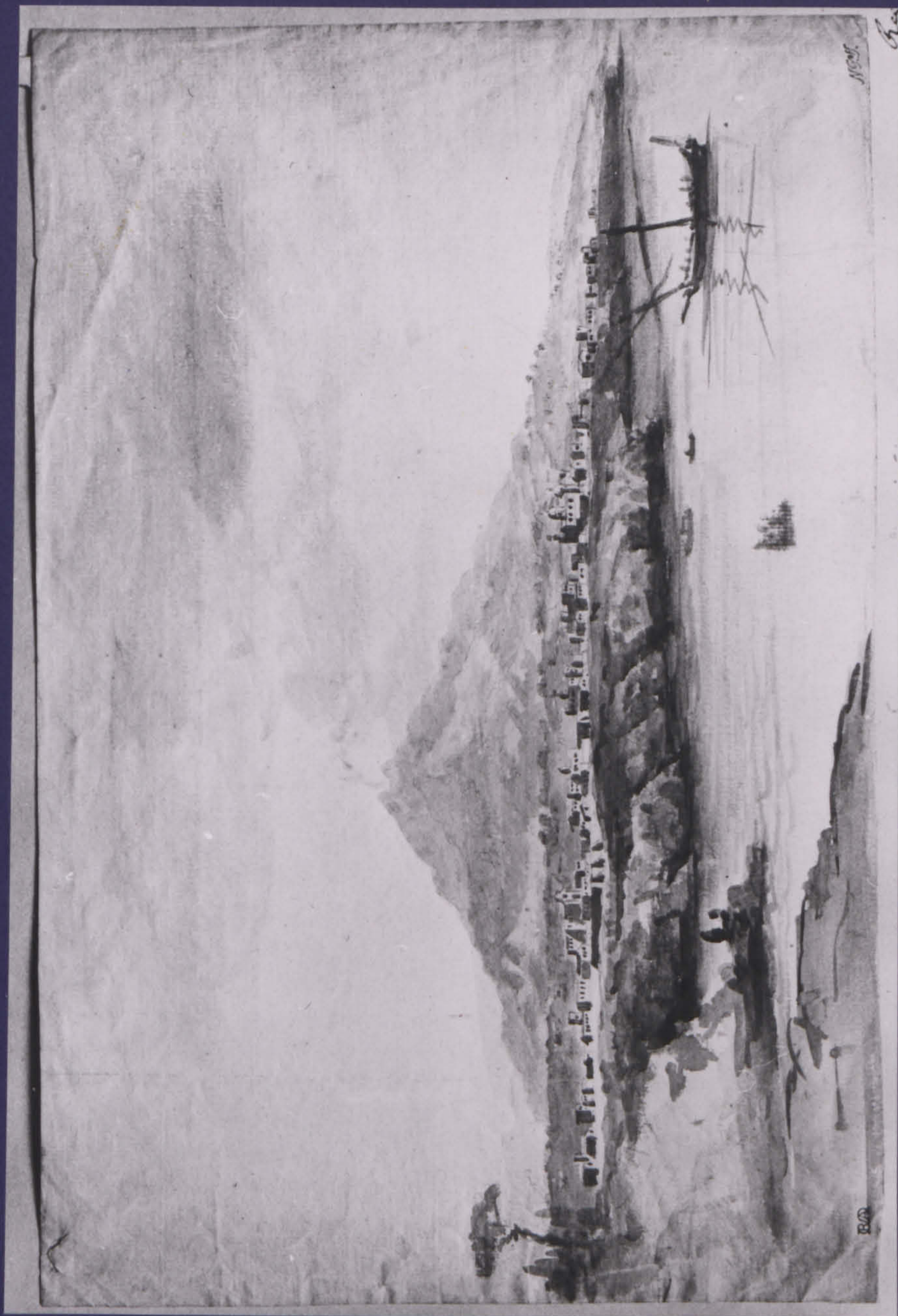
46. Jacob More, Mountain Landscape



47. Jacob More, View of the Vatican



48. Jacob More, Rome from the Monte Mario



49. Jacob More, Catania and Mount Etna



50. Jacob More, Roman Capriccio: the Colosseum and the Tiber



51. Jacob More, River Landscape and Towered Bridge with Figures



52. Jacob More, Lake of Nemi with Figures Hunting



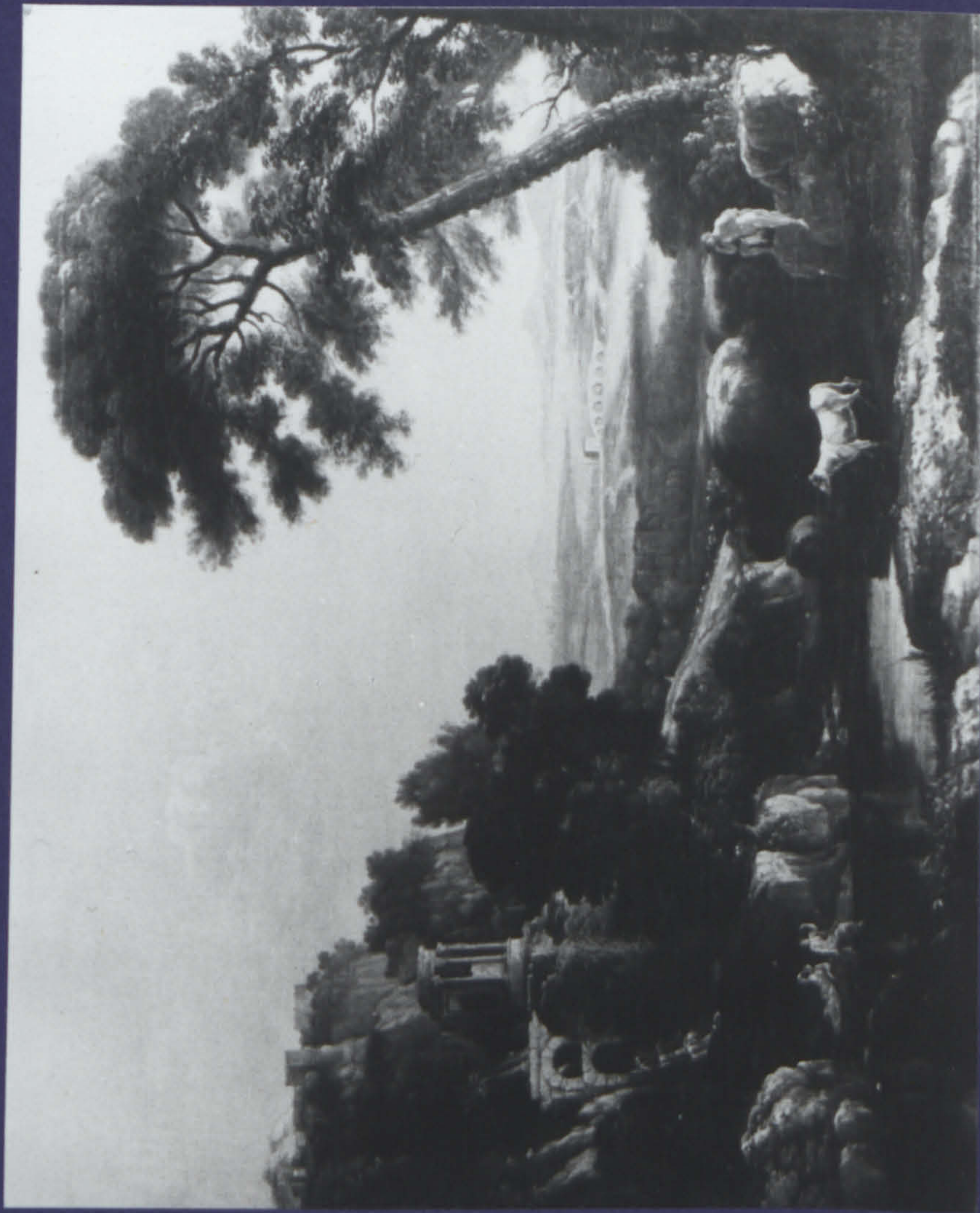
U. (?) Jacob More & Richard Cooper, Mountain
 Landscape with Ruined Building



53. (?) Abraham Louis Ducros, View of Vicovaro

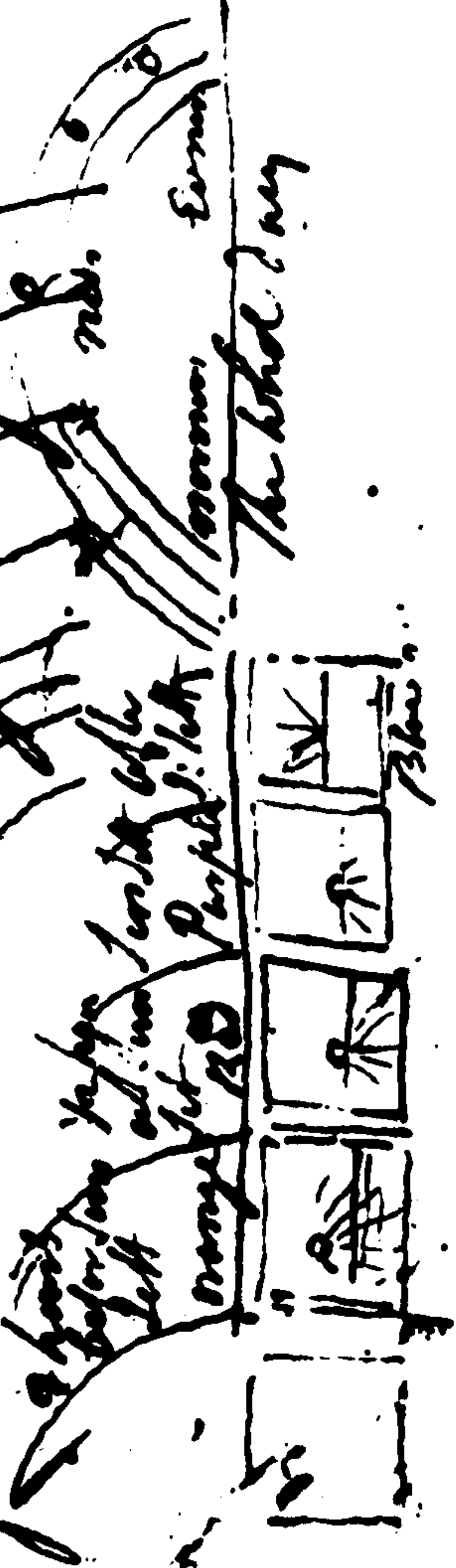


54. Engraving by Francesco Morel after Jacob More,
Moon Light. Diana and Nymphs Bathing, 1787



55. Jacob More, Landscape with Argus Guarding Io (after Claude)

73 The Sun in the course of the day goes through
 the whole of the Prismatic Colours, that is
 the ~~Quadrant~~ each of these colours produces
 in the light according to the Education of the
 Sun's position ~~between~~ the 8th moon.





57. Jacob More, Falls of Tivoli, 1790
Detail of Plate 66.



58. Jacob More, Shepherdess with her Flock sheltering from a Storm
Detail of Plate 23.



V. Alexander Nasmyth, Loch Tay with Kenmore Church
and Bridge, 1810



59. (?) Alexander Nasmyth, The Rest on the Flight



60. Thomas Patch, Cascade near Terni, 1764



61. Jacob More, Falls of Tivoli



62. Jacob More, Falls of Tivoli
Detail in colour of Plate 61.



63. Jacob More, Falls of Tivoli
Detail in colour of Plate 61.



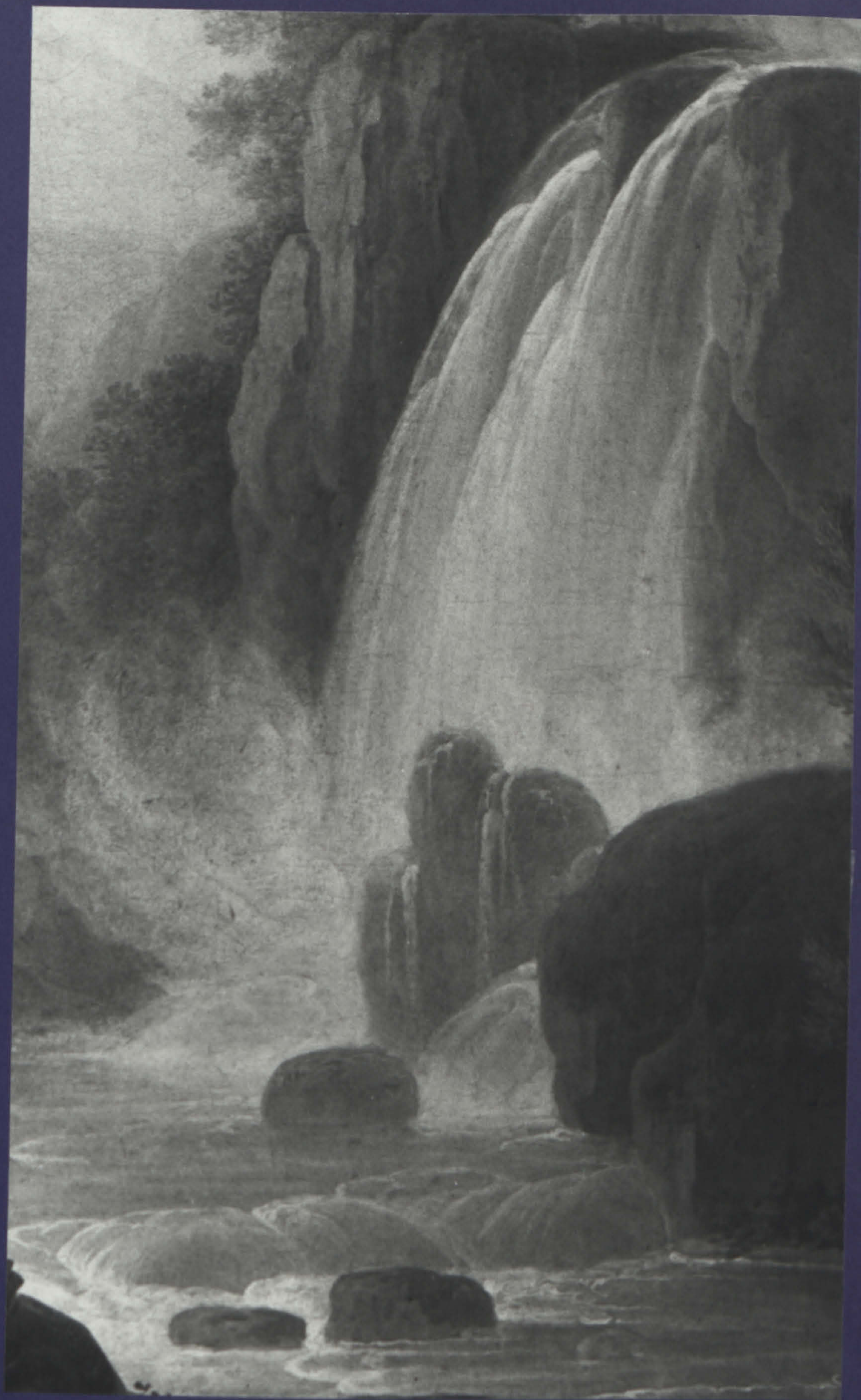
64. Jacob More, Falls of Terni: Moonlight, 1788



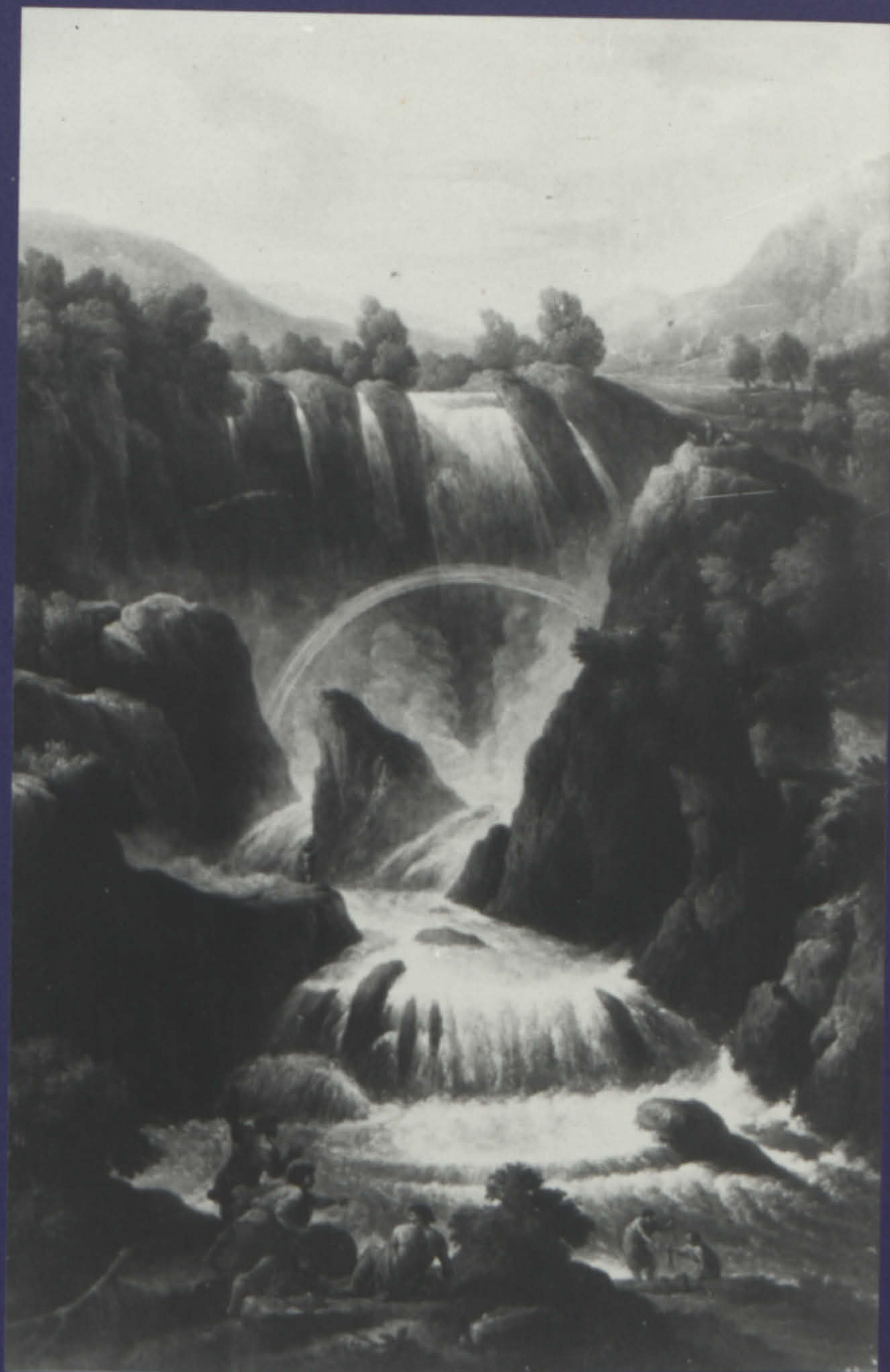
65. Jacob More, The Cascade of Tivoli at Sunset, 1788



66. Jacob More, Falls of Tivoli, 1790



67. Jacob More, Falls of Tivoli, 1790
Detail of Plate 66.



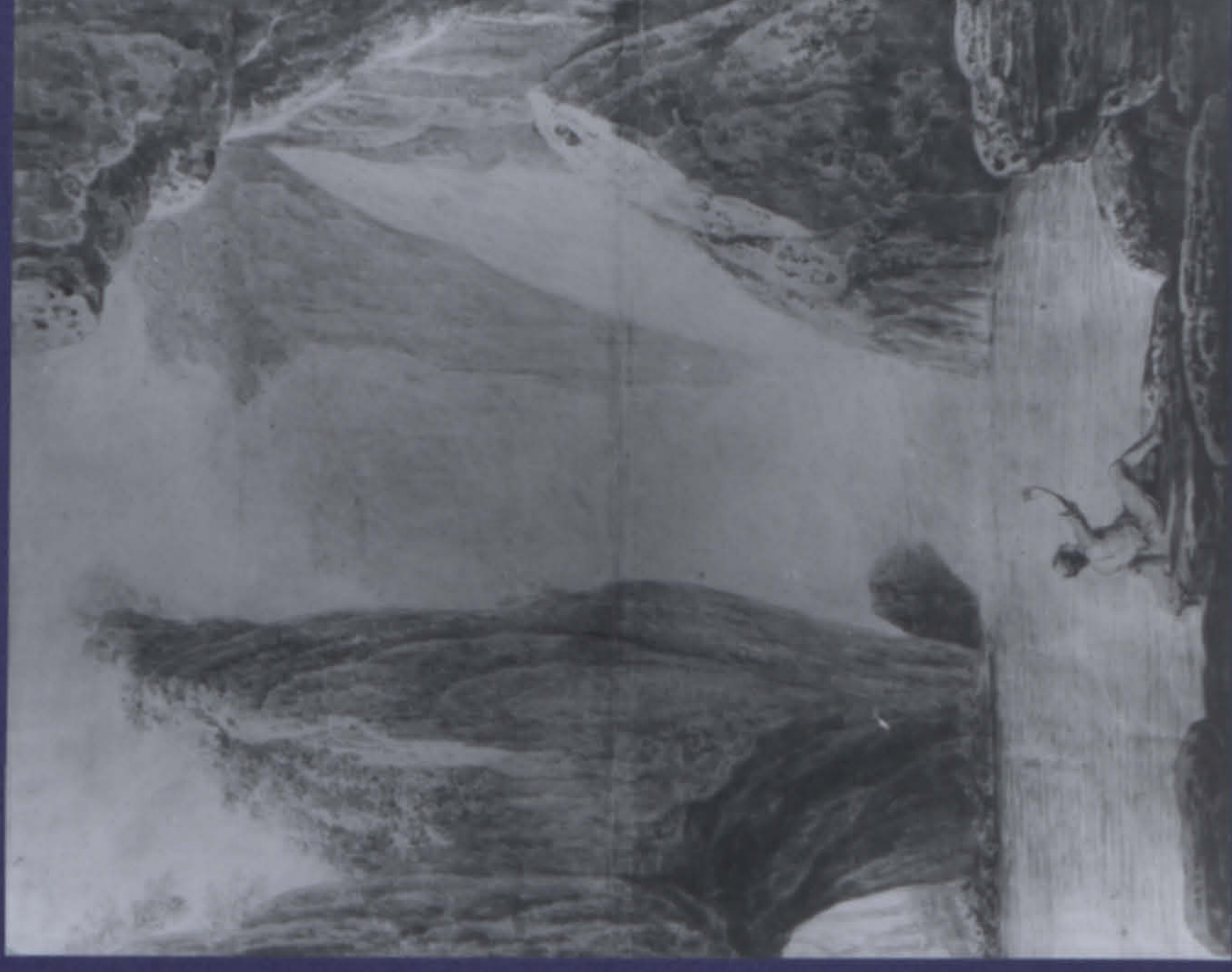
68. (?) Jan Frans van Bloemen, The Falls of Terni



69. Jan Frans van Bloemen, Landscape with Waterfall



70. Jacob More, Waterfall at Tivoli



71. Jacob More, View of the Inside
of Neptune's Grotto, Tivoli



72. Jacob More, Cascade at Tivoli



W. Thomas Wyck, Vesuvius in Eruption



73. Pierre-Jacques Volaire, Eruption of Vesuvius, 1782



X. Philip James de Loutherbourg, Coalbrookdale at Night, 1801



74. Jacob More, Mount Vesuvius in Eruption: the Last Days of Pompeii, 1780



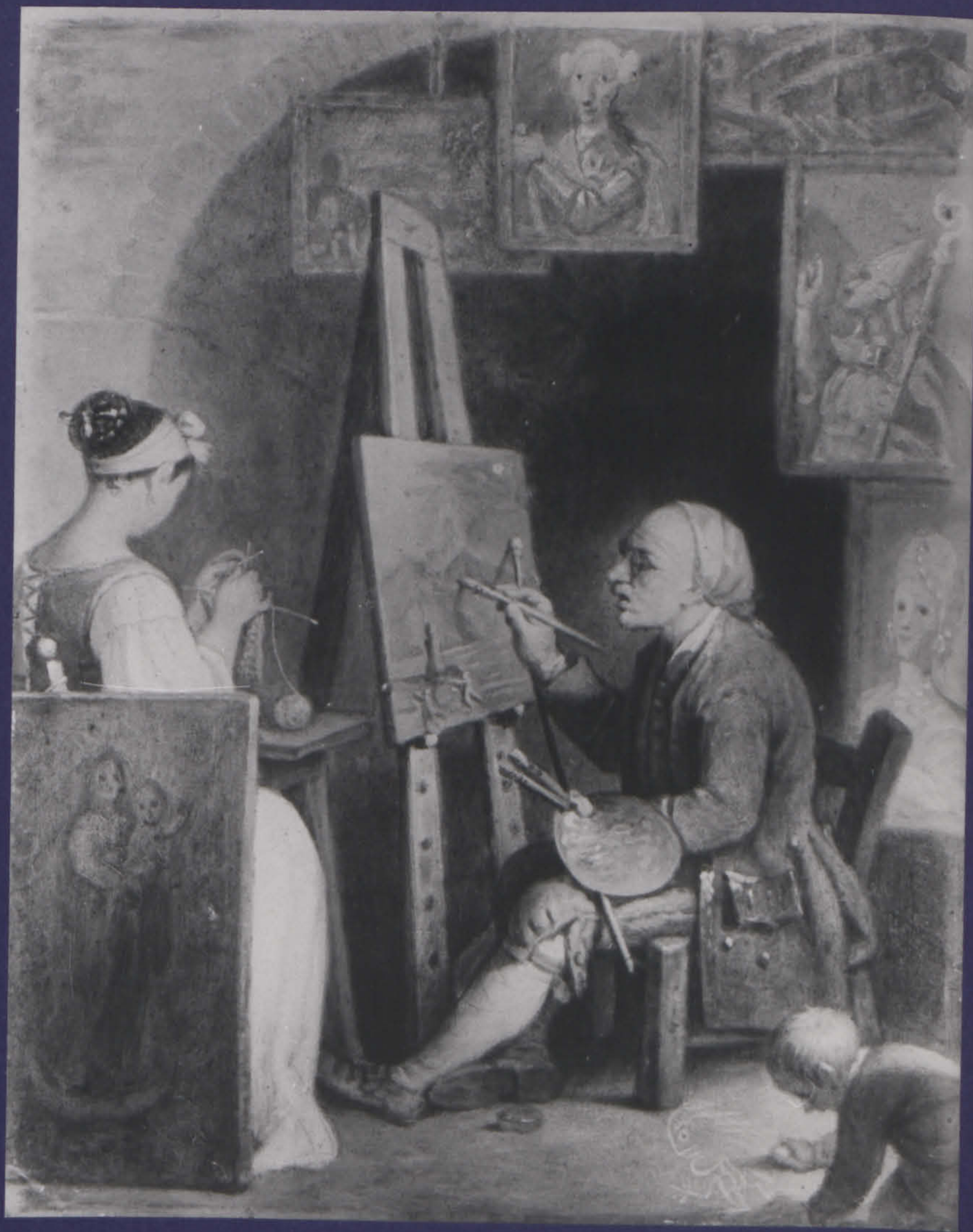
75. Jacob More, Mount Vesuvius in Eruption:
Detail in colour of Plate 74.



Y. Joseph Wright of Derby, Vesuvius in Eruption



76. Print by W. Eyde after a painting by Jacob More,
Eruption of Vesuvius



77. David Allan, The Uncultivated Genius



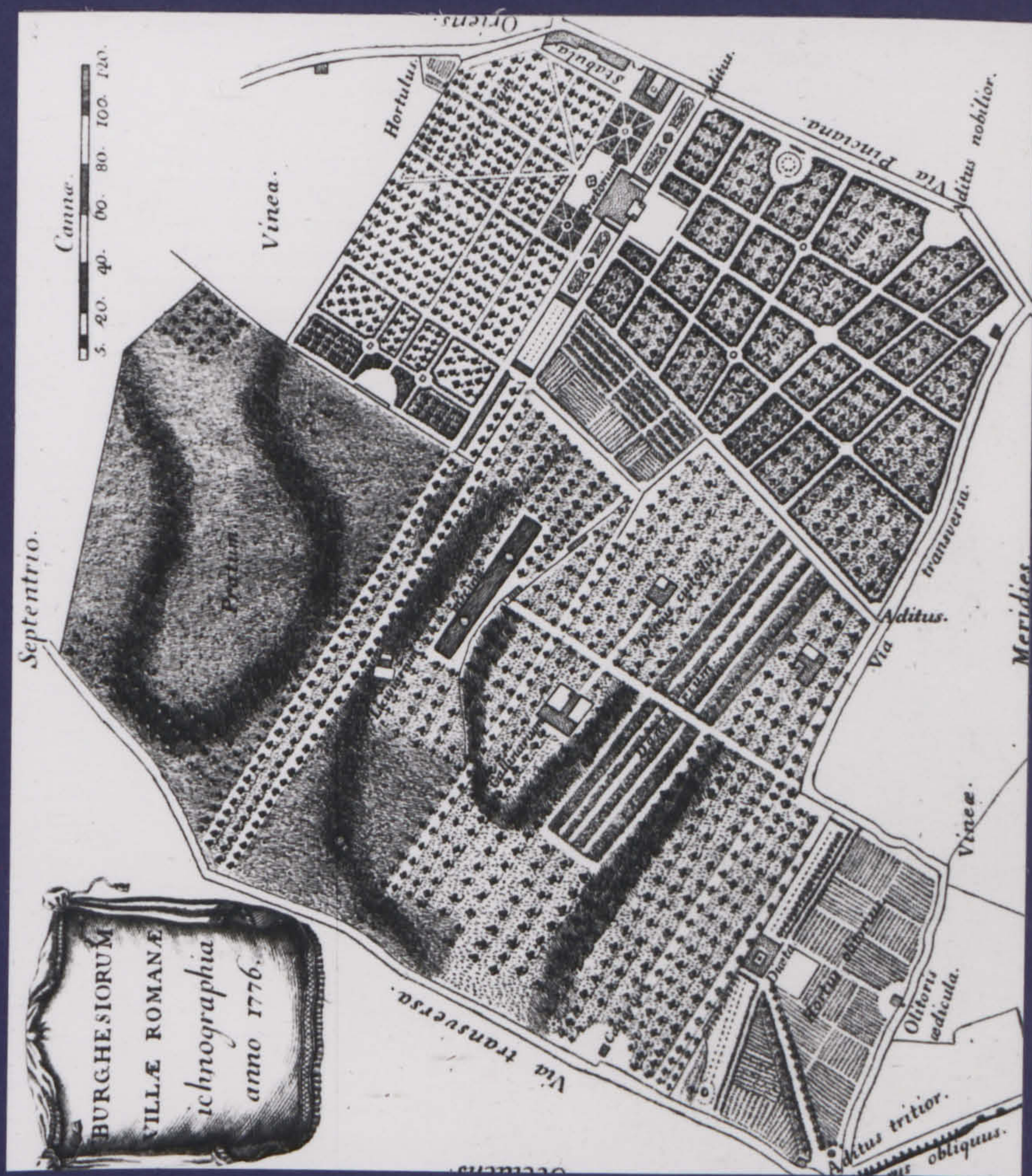
78. Jacob More, Apollo and Daphne



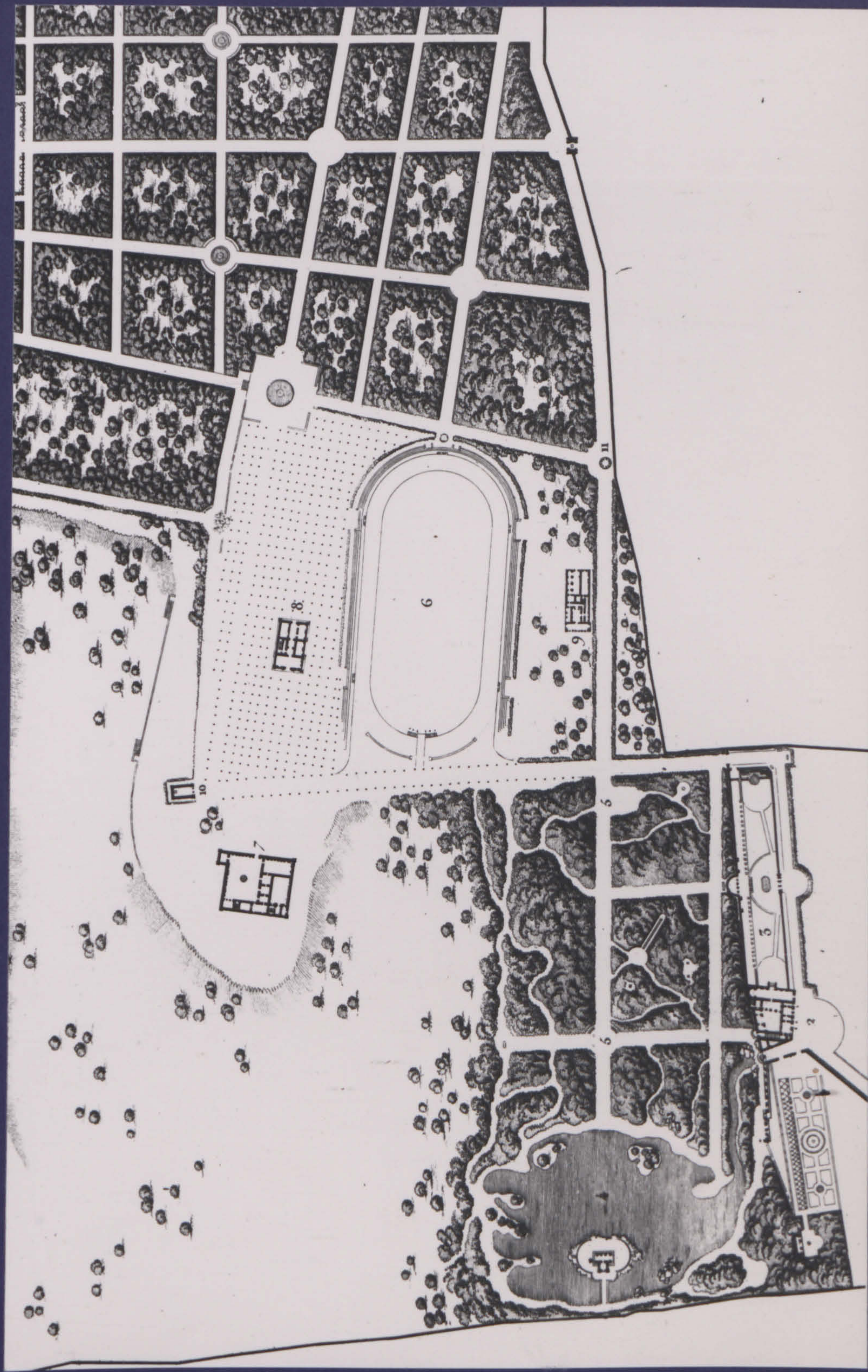
79. G.F. Venturini, Fountain in the Villa Borghese
End of seventeenth century.



80. C.Percier & P.F.L.Fontaine, Fountain in the Villa Borghese
End of eighteenth century.



81. Anonymous, Plan of the Villa Borghese, dated 1776



82. C.Percier & P.F.L.Fontaine, Plan of the Villa Borghese
End of eighteenth century.



83. Photograph of the Giardino Inglese in the Villa Borghese,
viewed south-eastwards from the lake, 1980



84. Photograph of the Giardino Inglese in the Villa Borghese, viewed north-eastwards from the lake, 1980



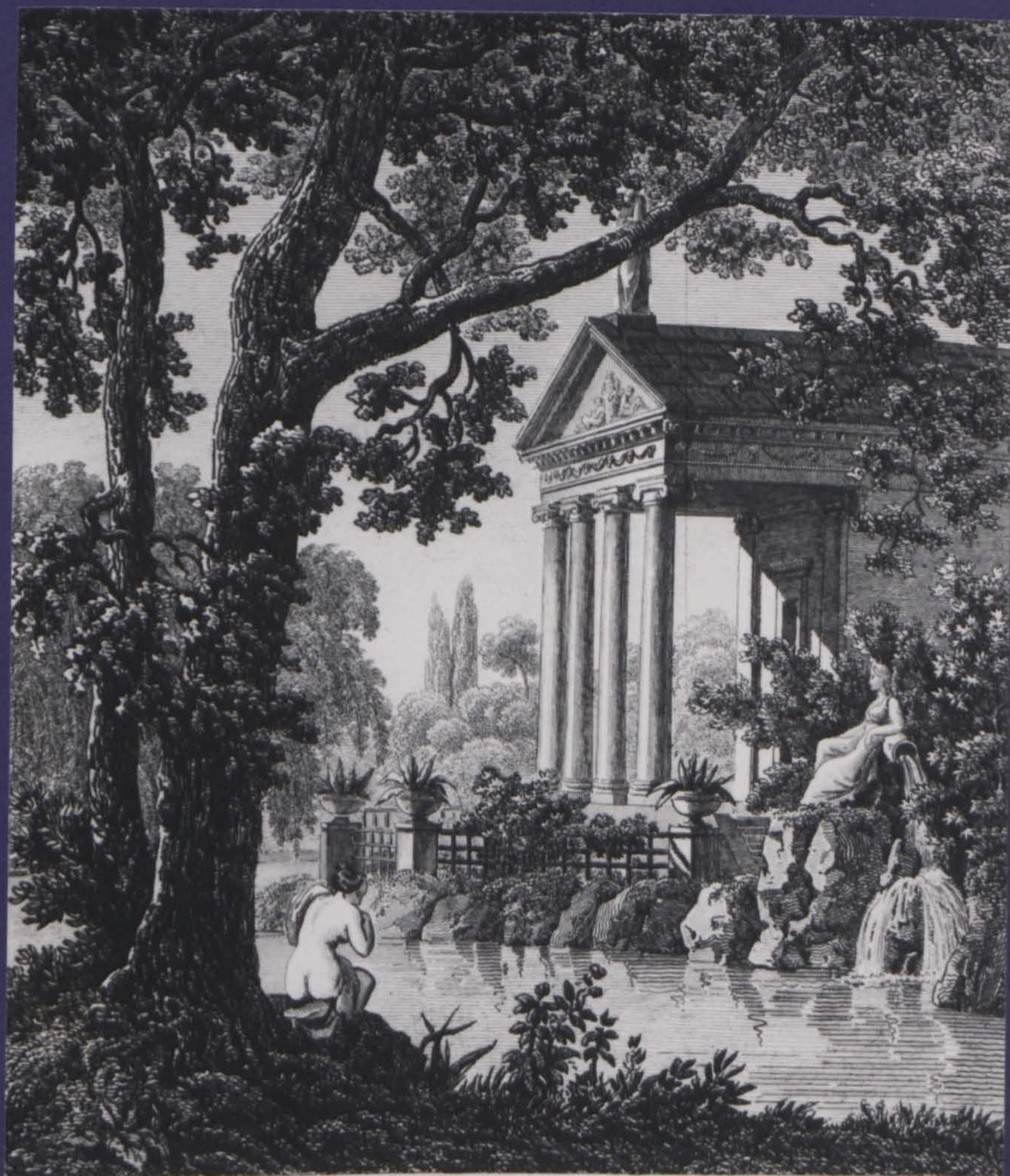
85. Photograph of the Temple of Aesculapius in the Giardino Inglese, Villa Borghese: front view, 1980.



86. Photograph of the Temple of Aesculapius in the Giardino Inglese, Villa Borghese: oblique view, 1980.



87. Photograph of an inlet in the lake of the Giardino Inglese,
Villa Borghese



Senonnes del. et sculp.

Temple d'Esculape. Villa Borghèse.

88. Viscomte de Senonnes, The Temple of Aesculapius in the Villa Giardini Inglese, Villa Borghese



89. Photograph of the Tomb of Jacob More, Protestant Cemetery, Rome.